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ARE AT WAR

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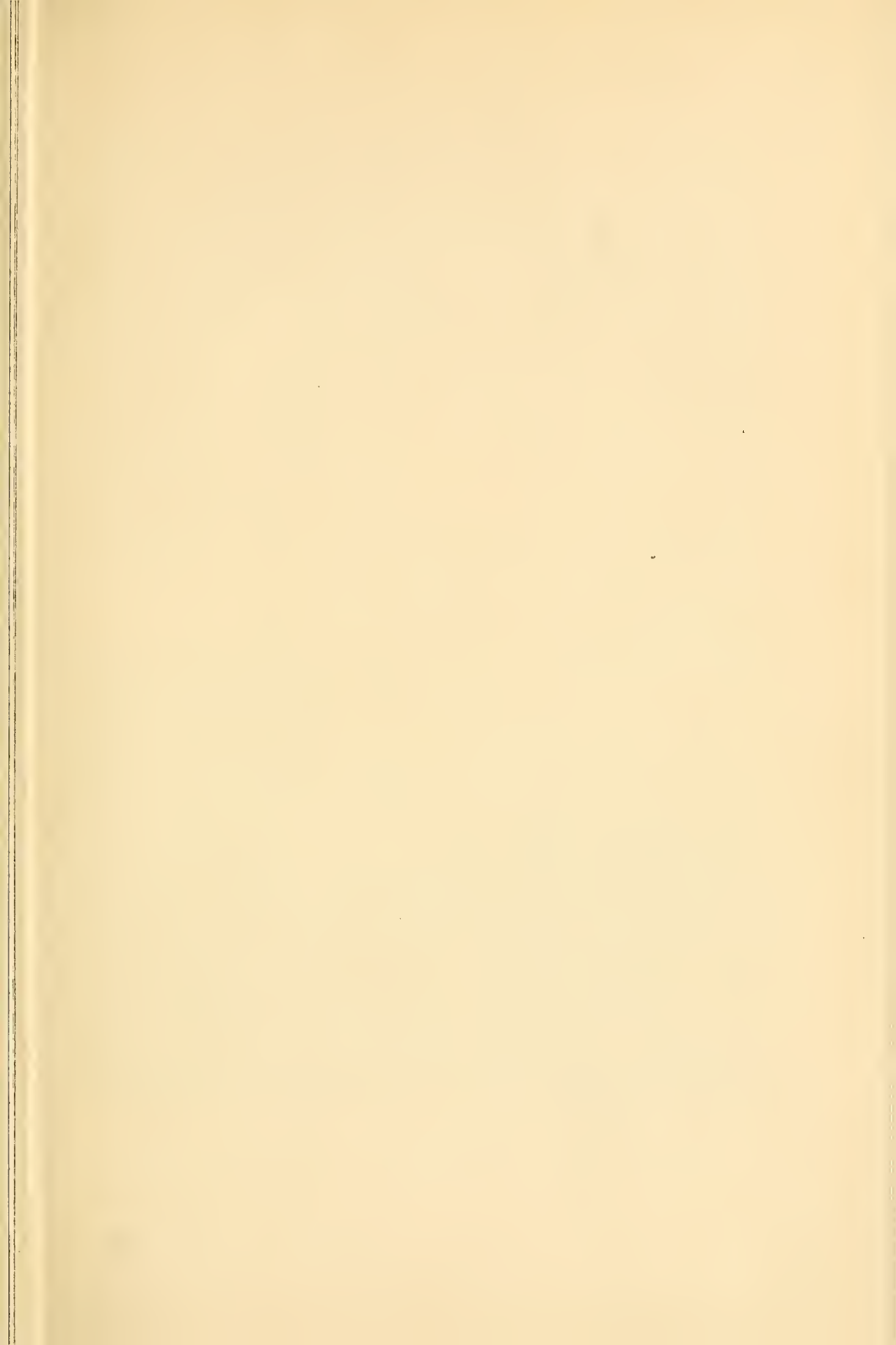
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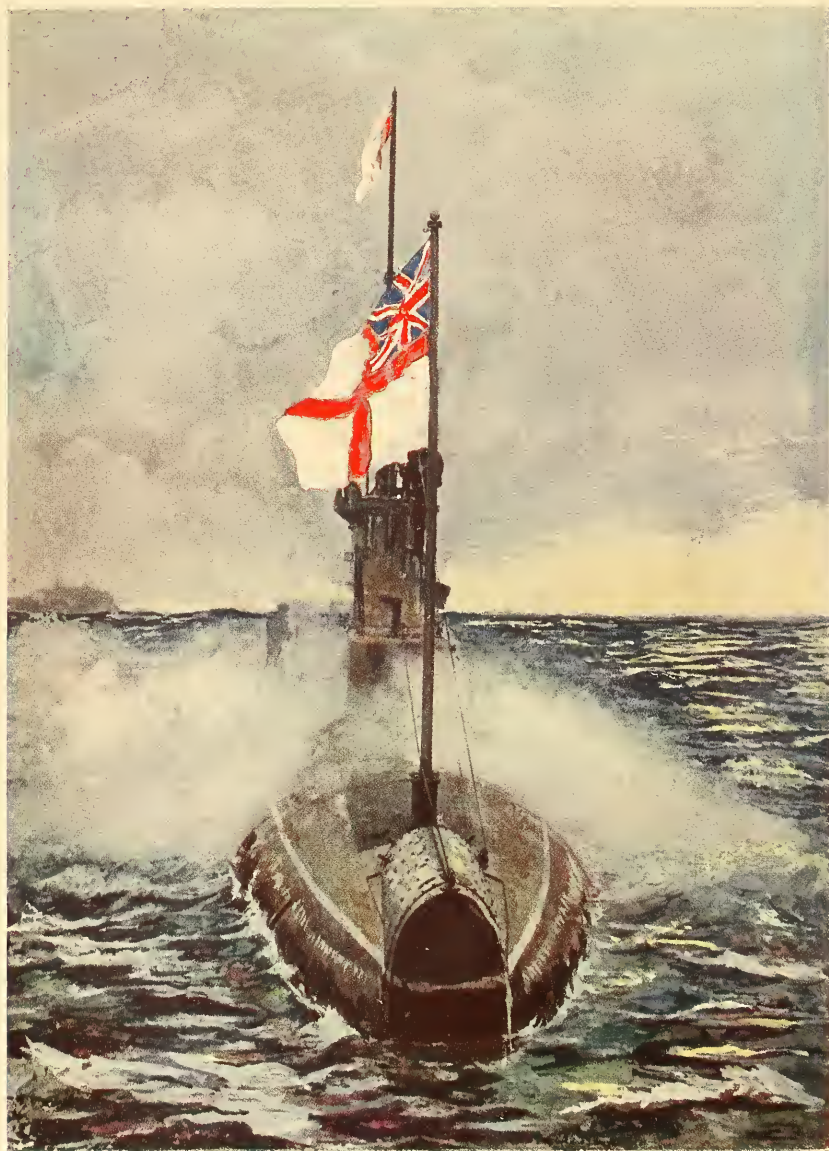
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ONE OF BRITAIN'S LATEST SUBMARINES  
(THE E TYPE)

*Photo Alfieri*

# WHY THE NATIONS ARE AT WAR

## *THE CAUSES AND ISSUES OF THE GREAT CONFLICT*

*A GRAPHIC STORY OF THE NATIONS INVOLVED  
THEIR HISTORY AND FORMER WARS  
THEIR RULERS AND LEADERS THEIR ARMIES  
AND NAVIES THEIR RESOURCES THE REASONS  
WHY THEY ARE INVOLVED IN THE WAR  
AND THE ISSUES AT STAKE*

**BY CHAS. MORRIS & LAWRENCE H. DAWSON**  
WITH A POSTSCRIPT BY EDEN PHILLPOTTS



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## PREFACE

“THE present state of things,” said Dr. Johnson, in words that are as true to-day as when they were spoken, “is the consequence of the past”; and he adds, “it is natural to inquire as to the sources of the good we enjoy or the evils we suffer. If we act only for ourselves, to neglect the study of history is not prudent; if entrusted with the care of others, it is not just.”

These words form a fitting prelude to the present work; for it is its object to trace the course of events during the past century, to follow the footsteps of men in war and peace from that day of upheaval when mediæval feudalism went down in disarray before the arms of the people in the French Revolution, and to find therein some explanation of the Great War of 1914.

In the first few chapters we have attempted to give as clearly and concisely as possible an account of the causes of this Great War in the first and second degree; that is to say, to put before the reader, first, the ostensible reasons for its outbreak, and, secondly, the underlying causes—the actual events and the more or less intangible ideas floating in the mind of man—that made it possible for those ostensible reasons to be taken advantage of in the way they were.

In these first chapters we have, as was inevitable, relied almost entirely on the official papers of the various belligerent nations, the only real evidence obtainable; and by the diligent comparison and collation of these, both with themselves and with the contemporary daily press and the better-informed reviews, we trust that it will be found that we have arrived about as near the truth as it is possible to do within six months of the mobilization of Europe. Those who seek within these pages for ‘secret history’ will be disappointed; and we offer to such persons no apology, for ‘secret history,’ though it may have great

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

fascination has very little permanent value and still less reliability.

The greater part of the remainder of the volume is taken up with the story of the past century, beginning, in fact, rather more than a century ago with the meteoric career of Napoleon, and seeking to show to what this led, and what effects it had upon the political evolution of mankind. The French Revolution stood midway between two epochs of history ; and before the world-wide war of 1914 had opened our eyes to the survival of barbarity and inhumanity in so-called culture and civilization, we should have held that those two epochs were that of mediæval barbarism and that of modern enlightenment. The Revolution exploded like a bomb in the midst of the self-satisfied aristocracy of the earlier social system and rent it into fragments which no hand could put together again ; popular government replaced autocratic and aristocratic government in France, and the armies of Napoleon spread those radical ideas throughout Europe until all oppressed peoples began to look upward with hope and see in the distance before them a haven of justice in the coming realm of human rights.

The new conceptions, introduced to the mass of mankind by the French Revolution, took time to disseminate themselves. The oppressed peoples had to fight their way upward into the light, to win their progress step by step to the heights of emancipation. It was a hard struggle. Time and again they were cast downward in their climb. The powers of privilege, of the 'divine right of kings,' fought hard to preserve their ascendancy, and only with discouraging slowness did the people move onward to the haven they so earnestly sought.

The story of this upward progress is the history of the nineteenth century, regarded from the special point of view of political progress and the development of human rights ; and it is that story, so full of meaning to us in the present

## PREFACE

day, that we have told in this volume. The reader of these pages will be able to tell, for instance, how and why it has come about that while at the opening of the nineteenth century Great Britain and Germany, Russia and Austria were all leagued against France, the second decade of the twentieth found all the Powers of Europe in arms against Germany and Austria. He will see what all these countries have been through to make them what they are and to place them where they stand to-day ; he will learn how the little nations have fared—Belgium, Poland, the Balkan States—and of what great importance they are ; how Italy attained her freedom ; how France came through two further revolutions, and how the German empire was born. The story of Great Britain's progress during the hundred years that have elapsed since Waterloo is also sketched out, as well as that of her colonies and of the Far East in its bearings upon the present situation.

While the book was passing through the press, Mr. Eden Phillpotts published in the *Daily Chronicle* an article which appeared to be so appropriate as a closing chapter to this work that we decided to take advantage of his readiness to permit of its republication to incorporate it as a postscript. Mr. Phillpotts has not thereby, of course, assumed any responsibility for the remainder of the book.





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## CHAPTER I

### ALL EUROPE PLUNGED INTO WAR

*Dramatic Suddenness of the Outbreak : Widespread Influences : The Financial Crisis : Terrible Effects of War : The World involved : India and Great Britain's Colonies : Cost of Modern Warfare*

AT the opening of the final week of July, 1914, the whole world—with the exception of Mexico, in which the smouldering embers of revolution still burned—was in a state of profound peace. The clattering hammers and whirling wheels of industry were everywhere to be heard; great ships furrowed the ocean waves, deep-laden with the world's products and carrying thousands of travellers bent on business or enjoyment. Countless trains, drawn by smoke-belching locomotives, traversed the long leagues of iron rails, similarly laden with passengers engaged in peaceful errands and freight intended for peaceful purposes. All seemed at rest so far as national hostile sentiments were concerned. All was in motion so far as useful industries demanded service. Europe, America, Asia, and Africa alike had for long settled down as if to a holiday from war, and the advocates of universal peace were jubilant over the progress of their cause, holding peace congresses and conferences at The Hague and elsewhere, and giving Nobel prizes of honour even to so questionable an advocate of peace as Theodore Roosevelt, the redoubtable Colonel of Rough Riders. And yet, below the surface apparently so calm and restful, hostile forces which had long been fomenting were ready to burst forth and overwhelm the world.

#### DRAMATIC SUDDENNESS OF THE OUTBREAK

On the night of July 25th the vast majority of the people of Europe settled down to restful slumbers, little thinking of the coming turmoil. On the morning of the 26th they rose to learn that a great war had begun, a conflict the

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

possible width and depth of which no man was able to foresee; and as day after day passed on, each day some new nation springing into the terrible arena until practically the whole of Europe was in arms and the Armageddon seemed to be approaching, those people stood amazed and astounded, wondering what hand had loosed so vast a catastrophe, what deep and secret causes lay below its ostensible origin. As a panic at times affects a vast assemblage, with no one aware of its why and wherefore, so a wave of hostile sentiment may sweep over vast communities until the air is full of urgent demands for war with scarce a man knowing why. What is already said only feebly outlines the state of consternation into which the world was cast in that fateful week in which the doors of the Temple of Janus were suddenly thrown wide open and the terrible God of War marched forth, the whole earth trembling beneath his feet. It was the breaking of a mighty storm in a placid sky, the fall of a meteor which spreads terror and destruction on all sides, the explosion of a bomb of gigantic power in a vast assemblage; it was everything that can be imagined of the sudden and overwhelming, of the amazing and incredible.

### WIDESPREAD INFLUENCES

For the moment the world stood irresolute and amazed, plunged into a panic that threatened to stop all its activities. The chambers of finance throughout the nations were closed, to prevent that wild and hasty action which precipitates disaster. Throughout Europe trade, industry, and commerce were paralyzed at their sources. Few ships of any of the nations concerned dared venture from port, lest they should fall a prey to the prowling sea-dogs of war which made all the oceans unsafe. The hosts of English and American tourists who had gone to the continent under the sunny skies of peace suddenly beheld the dark clouds of war rolling overhead, blotting out the sun, and casting their black

## ALL EUROPE PLUNGED INTO WAR

shadows over all things fair. The steady-going habits and occupations of peace ceased or were perilously threatened, and no one could be sure of escaping from some of the dire effects of the catastrophe.

When a great war comes upon the world the conditions of production vanish, to be replaced by conditions of destruction. That which had been growing in grace and beauty for years is overturned and destroyed in a moment of savagery. Changes of this kind are not confined to the countries in which the war rages or the cities which conquering columns of troops occupy. They go beyond the borders of military activity; they extend to far-off quarters of the earth.

### THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

We have already mentioned that at the very outbreak of the war the Stock Exchanges of the world were closed; and in most countries the financial situation generally was, for a time at all events, serious.

In London the crisis began about the middle of July, and on the last day of that month the bank rate was doubled, reaching 8 per cent. This, however, did not stem the rush, and next day the bank rate was at the almost unprecedented figure of 10 per cent. On that Saturday the banks in London and the larger towns were besieged by depositors anxious to withdraw gold, and it was with a sigh of relief that they closed their great doors at one o'clock, knowing that they would have till the following Tuesday for respite.

Better things, however, were in store for them. Parliament met on the Monday, Bank Holiday, and among other measures of financial protection proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and carried unanimously by the House of Commons was one that the banks should remain closed for a further three days, and another proclaiming a partial moratorium, temporarily releasing debtors,



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

and more particularly the banks, from their obligations in respect of money owed by them.

By such measures as these what would undoubtedly have been a very serious panic was avoided. By August 8th the bank rate was down again to 5 per cent., the moratorium finally expired on November 4th, and before the New Year, 1915, was a week old the London Stock Exchange reopened, though on a restricted basis. As an indication of how serious things had been financially we may mention that it has been estimated that during the eleven days previous to the closing of the Stock Exchange the depreciation in respect of 387 representative securities amounted to no less than £188,000,000.

In all the capitals of Europe, of course, financial transactions came virtually to a standstill. This sudden stoppage was accompanied by a partial cessation of the industries of peace over a wide range of territory. The artisan was forced to let fall the tools of his trade and take up those of war. The customary uses of the railways were largely suspended for the purpose of conveying soldiers and military supplies, but although travel certainly went on under difficulties, it was a matter of wonder and congratulation to the railway companies that so little inconvenience was experienced in England.

War makes business active in one direction, and in one only, that of army and navy supply, of the manufacture of the implements of destruction, of vast quantities of explosives, of multitudes of death-dealing weapons. Food-supplies need to be diverted in the same direction, the demands of the soldier being considered first, those of the home people last, the latter being often supplied at starvation prices. There is plenty of work to do—of its kind. But it is of a kind that more often injures than aids the people of the nations.

# ALL EUROPE PLUNGED INTO WAR

## TERRIBLE EFFECTS OF WAR

This individual source of misery and suffering in war-time is accompanied by the destruction of human life and of property, and frequently of merciless brigandage and devastation. It is horrible to think of the frightful suffering caused on the battle-field. Immediate death might reasonably be welcomed as an escape from the suffering arising from wounds, the terrible mutilations, the injuries that incapacitate throughout life, the conversion of hosts of able-bodied men into feeble invalids, to be kept by the direct aid of their fellows or the indirect aid of the people at large through a system of pensions. And side by side with the physical sufferings of the soldiers are the mental anxieties of their families at home, their terrible suspense, the effect upon them of tidings of the maiming or death of those dear to them or on whose labour they immediately depend. The harvest of misery arising from this cause it is impossible to estimate. It is not visible in the open. It dwells unseen in humble homes, in city, village, or field, borne often uncomplainingly, but not less poignantly. But while the glories of war are celebrated with blast of trumpet and roll of drum, the terrible accompaniment of groans of misery is too apt to pass unheard and die away forgotten.

To turn from this roll of horrors, there are costs of war in other directions to be considered. These include the ravage of cities by flame or pillage, the loss of splendid works of architecture, the irretrievable destruction of great productions of art, the vanishing of much on which the world had long set store.

Not only on land, but at sea as well, the tide of destruction rises and swells. Huge warships, built at a cost of hundreds of thousands of pounds and tenanted by hundreds of hardy sailors, may be torn and rent by shot and shell or sent to the bottom with all on board by the explosion of mines or torpedoes beneath their unprotected lower hulls at almost



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

any moment. The torpedo, the mine, the submarine, and other agencies of unseen destruction, have added enormously to the horrors of naval warfare, while the airship and aeroplane, letting fall their bombs from the sky, add not only to the terror and torment of the battle-field, but to the dangers of the deep.

### THE WORLD INVOLVED

We began this chapter with a statement of the startling suddenness of this great war, and the widespread consequences which immediately followed. As for its issues, the disturbing and distracting consequences which cannot fail to follow any great modern war between civilized nations, we had some examples of these on a small scale in the recent Balkan-Turkish War. That was of minor importance, and its effects, many of them sanguinary and horrible, were mainly confined to the region in which it occurred; but a war covering nearly a whole continent cannot be confined and circumscribed in its consequences. All the world must feel them in a measure—though diminishing with distance. The vast expanse of water which separates the United States from the European continent could not save its citizens from feeling certain ill effects from the struggle. America and Europe are tied together with many bonds of business and interest, and the severing or weakening of these could not fail to be seriously felt; while questions of contraband of war and the conveyance in American ships to neutral countries of merchandize whose ultimate destination might possibly be a belligerent country, were bound to lead to some little uneasiness in business and diplomatic circles.

### INDIA AND GREAT BRITAIN'S COLONIES

Of Frederick the Great, the mighty forerunner of the Kaiser, Macaulay has said in words that can never be forgotten: "The evils produced by his wickedness were felt in lands



SIR EDWARD GREY

*Photo Alfieri*



## ALL EUROPE PLUNGED INTO WAR

where the name of Prussia was unknown ; and, in order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.”

To-day one cannot but be reminded of these words—but with a difference. The war has indeed spread from Archangel to the frontiers of the Antarctic, from Japan and the farthest islands of the South Pacific round the world to the western coasts of South America ; but so far from the natives of the coast of Coromandel and the dwellers by the Great Lakes of North America seeking to fight among themselves, they are vying with each other as to who shall send the greatest number of men and the largest supplies of the sinews of war to assist in defeating the Prussian.

Early in September it was announced in the House of Commons that India had already dispatched over 70,000 men, and that three more cavalry brigades would follow at once ; offers of personal service came from almost all the 700 ruling chiefs ; Nepal provided the Gurkhas with machine guns, the Maharajah of Mysore subscribed fifty lakhs of rupees (about £333,300) toward the expenses of the Expeditionary Force, and other Maharajahs and Nizams offered their troops, their treasuries, and even their jewellery.

From Canada came as a first contingent a division of 22,000 men, an additional cavalry regiment, two horse artillery batteries, an infantry battalion of ex-regulars, and three other units of 1000 men each from New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Calgary. This force was soon raised to a strength of 100,000. Besides personal gifts of batteries of field artillery and machine guns, steam yachts, motor-cars, and the like, Canada gave to the Government of the United Kingdom one million 98-lb. bags of flour, 500,000 bushels of oats, over 4,000,000 lb. of cheese, 100,000 bushels of potatoes and the same number of tons of coal, 25,000 cases of tinned salmon from British Columbia, 1500 remounts from Saskatchewan,



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with a further 250,000 bags of flour and 500,000 dollars in cash from Ontario, and 50,000 bags of flour from Manitoba; and by the beginning of October a fleet of thirty-two transports, escorted by warships, left the St Lawrence carrying aboard 31,250 men with 7500 horses and the full equipment of an army.

A second Expeditionary Force was soon after ready for dispatch, and as these and others were called on for active service their places in the waiting army were filled by fresh recruits.

The response of Australia was as emphatic and as prompt as that of the Dominion. The Government of the Commonwealth at once placed the Royal Australian Navy under the control of the Admiralty, and the invaluable work done by it in planting the British flag in German New Guinea and elsewhere, and in cornering and destroying the *Emden* is well known. Australia at the same time offered an Expeditionary Force of 20,000 men as a first instalment; these were sent off with all possible dispatch, and by the end of November a further 20,000 were ready.

Like Canada, Australia has large numbers of men training to take their place in the fighting line; and, again like Canada and all parts of the British possessions, she did not confine her gifts to men, but sent large sums of money to the various funds that were raised for the relief of distress, the Red Cross societies, etc., and immense quantities of home-grown produce. The latter included frozen meat, port wine, butter, bacon, and condensed milk.

New Zealand also gave her Navy (which early distinguished itself by capturing Samoa) and an Expeditionary Force of 8000 men; besides valuable gifts in money and kind. Maori chiefs obtained the eagerly sought permission for themselves and their men to take their place in the fighting line; and from all over the Empire, from Fiji, from the Red Indians, from the South African tribes, and from numbers of native



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ances whose very names are unknown to most of the dwellers at home, came prayers that they might be allowed to go to the assistance of their Great White King.

South Africa itself was not able to send an Expeditionary Force overseas, partly because there were large German colonies at her very doors, and partly because a small and disaffected minority of her Boer population took the opportunity to rise in rebellion. But the work done by United South Africa has been as necessary and valuable as that done by any of the sons of the Mother Country, in spite of the fact that her soldiers could not aid in lining the trenches in Flanders.

### COST OF MODERN WARFARE

Let us close this preliminary chapter with a consideration, not of the immediate effect of war, but of its final cost. In the end, after the storm has passed, the changes of territory, if any, are made, and industry has begun to revive, what remains? There is left a load of debt that for half a century or longer after the war will hang like a chain around the necks of the people, every man and woman of which will feel its constricting bonds.

Although actual figures are naturally unobtainable, careful estimates have been made and it is found that, taking the expenses of the four Great Powers only, the war is costing over £8,400,000 per day. This leaves out of account what Austria, Serbia, Belgium, and Japan have spent and are spending, neither does it include our own expenses in Africa or the outer seas, nor the pay and equipment of our Indian and Colonial contingents. The total spent by these four nations for the five months to the end of 1914 must be well over £1,260,000,000, and when we compare these figures with the total cost of the Panama Canal, one of the most useful aids to the commerce of the world, a modest £77,000,000, we realize to some extent how vastly more expensive is war than peace.

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It must be remembered, too, that the figures given, enormous though they are, do not allow for the waste of life and material, the destruction of cities, towns, villages, cathedrals, and priceless works of art and antiquity, fortresses and battleships, nor do they take into account the trade losses involved. They represent only the actual money raised to keep the armies of the nations before mentioned in the field ; so, even if we deducted the amounts that would in the ordinary course of events be spent in the provisioning and clothing these millions of men, the sums we should have to add for these and other contingent war-liabilities would make a total very much in excess of the figures given.

Beyond this, too, we ought to take into consideration the expenses of the nations in preparing for this terrific conflict. The table given below shows that during the thirteen years preceding 1914 Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, and Russia spent on their armies and navies little short of £4,000,000,000.

### TOTAL FOR THIRTEEN YEARS' ARMY AND NAVY EXPENDITURE IN GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, FRANCE, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, AND RUSSIA (1901-2—1914)

|                 | <i>Army</i>    | <i>Navy</i>    |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Great Britain   | £502,173,713   | £524,559,600   |
| Germany         | 567,254,780    | 218,464,985    |
| France          | 471,177,488    | 200,253,320    |
| Austria-Hungary | 186,229,937    | 32,001,144     |
| Extraordinary   | 16,607,000     | 5,041,166      |
| Russia          | 683,178,901    | 198,416,872    |
| Extraordinary   | 296,951,723    | 13,044         |
|                 | £2,723,573,542 | £1,178,750,131 |

The money thus expended on preparation for war during the thirteen years named would, if spent in railway and

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KING GEORGE AND KING ALBERT REVIEWING BELGIAN TROOPS AT FURNES  
(The Prince of Wales, with Indian Princes, stands behind the King)

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*





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marine construction, have given vast commercial power to these nations. To what extent have they been benefited by the rivalry to gain precedence in military power? They stand on practically the same basis now that it is all at an end. Would they not be on the same basis if it had never begun? Apart from this is the incentive to employ these vast armaments in the purpose for which they were designed, the natural effect of creating a military spirit and developing a military caste.

This enormous expense which was incurred in preparation needed to be rapidly increased to meet the expenses of actual warfare. The British House of Commons authorized war credits amounting to over £420,000,000, a sum which includes the war-loan of £350,000,000, which was subscribed so readily; while the German Reichstag voted £250,000,000. Similarly France, Austria, and all the other countries concerned had to set aside vast sums for their respective war-chests.

And when the roar of the cannon ceases and the nations are at rest, then dawns the era of payment, inevitable, unescapable, one in which for generations every man and woman must share.



## CHAPTER II

### THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR

*The Ultimatum to Serbia : Working for Peace : Mobilization in Europe : The Russian Formula : Great Britain's First Steps : Underlying Causes : The Triple Alliance and Triple Entente : Germany's Complicity : Kaiser Wilhelm II : Neutrality of Italy : Germany's Inner Purpose : Russia's Part in the Cataclysm : France*

WHAT brought on the mighty war which so suddenly burst forth? What pride of power, what lust of ambition, what desire for imperial dominion cast the armed hosts of the nations into the field of conflict, and caused multitudes of innocent victims to be sacrificed to the insatiate blood-hunger of the modern Moloch?

For a continent to spring in a week's time from complete peace into a war which rapidly became almost universal, with all the great and several of the small Powers involved, is not to be explained by an apophthegm or embraced within the limits of a paragraph; but we will here give, first, as concisely as may be, a *résumé* of the immediate events that led to the outbreak of hostilities, and secondly, an account of the deeper-lying causes of the Great War.

#### THE ULTIMATUM TO SERBIA

On June 28th, 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne, Francis Ferdinand, and his wife, while on an official visit to Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, were assassinated, the assassin being a Serbian student, supposed to have come for that purpose from Belgrade, the capital of Serbia.

As a consequence of this abominable crime difficulties arose between the Cabinets of Vienna and Belgrade, difficulties concerning which the majority of the Powers were only semi-officially informed up to Friday, July 24th, when the Austro-

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Hungarian ambassadors communicated a circular to them. The object of this circular was to explain and justify an ultimatum delivered to Serbia the evening before by the Austro-Hungarian minister at Belgrade.

The ultimatum was based on the undertaking made in 1909 by Serbia, to recognize the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and reproached the Serbian Government with having tolerated an anti-Austrian propaganda in which officials, the army, and the press had taken part, a propaganda which, it was maintained, threatened the security and integrity of Austria, and the danger of which had been shown by the crime of the 28th of June. This crime had been, according to the Austrian official view, planned at Belgrade. The Austrian Government first explained in this Note that they were compelled to put an end to a propaganda which formed a permanent danger to their tranquillity, and to require from the Serbian Government an official pronouncement of their determination to condemn and suppress it, by publishing in the Official Gazette of the 26th a declaration, the terms of which were stated, condemning it, expressing their regret, and threatening to crush it. A general order of the king to the Serbian army was at the same time to make these declarations known to the army. In addition to this, the Serbian Government was to undertake to suppress anti-Austrian publications, to dissolve Pan-Slavistic societies, to dismiss those officers and civil servants whose names the Austrian Government would give them, to accept the cooperation of Austrian officials in suppressing the subversive acts to which their attention had been directed, as well as for the investigation into the assassination, and finally to proceed to the immediate arrest of a Serbian officer and an official who were said to be concerned.

The ultimatum also hinted that the Serbian authorities themselves were no strangers to the Serajevo crime, and demanded a reply by Saturday, July 25th.

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Many of the Austrian demands were such as to strike a severe blow at the rights of a sovereign state ; but in spite of their drastic character, Serbia, on July 25th, agreed to publish in the *Journal Officiel* of the following day the required declaration, and to communicate it to the army by means of an Order of the Day ; they also agreed to dissolve the societies of national defence and all other associations which might possibly agitate against Austria ; to modify the press law ; and to dismiss from the army and the government offices all officials proved to have taken part in the propaganda, if Austria would furnish the names of such persons.

As to the participation of Austrian officials in the inquiry, Serbia humbly asked for an explanation of the manner in which this would be exercised. She could accept no participation which conflicted with international law or with good and neighbourly relations.

Serbia accepted all the other demands of the ultimatum and even went so far as to declare that if the Austro-Hungarian Government were not content with this, she was ready to refer the matter to The Hague Tribunal or to the Great Powers.

This submission, which was a success for Austria, was to a large extent due to the advice tendered to Belgrade from the first by Great Britain, France, and Russia.

The demands had been concealed from the Chancelleries of these Powers, which in the three preceding weeks had on several occasions received assurances that the claims would be extremely moderate ; it was, therefore, with natural astonishment that they learned on July 26th that the Austrian minister at Belgrade, after a few minutes' examination, had declared that the Serbian reply was unacceptable, and had broken off diplomatic relations.

This astonishment was increased by the fact that meanwhile the German ambassadors at the various capitals had asserted



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that the Austro-Serbian dispute must remain localized, without intervention by the Great Powers, or otherwise 'incalculable consequences' were to be feared.

### WORKING FOR PEACE

In spite, however, of the threatening expressions used by Germany, the Powers persevered in their conciliatory course and invited Germany to join in it. But their efforts met with no response at Berlin.

Had Germany chosen to speak in Vienna as she speaks when she is in earnest the plague would have been stayed; but from this moment she seemed actually to intervene between the Dual Monarchy and the compromises suggested by the other Powers, and on Tuesday, July 28th, Austria declared war on Serbia.

There was now involved in the dispute not only the independence of a brave people, and the balance of power in the Balkans, embodied in the Treaty of Bukarest of 1913 (of which we speak in a later chapter) and consecrated by the moral support of all the Great Powers, but also the more than likely intervention of Russia, and thus the balance of power in the whole of Europe.

However, Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, still continued to do all that was possible to ensure the maintenance of peace, and from his efforts emerged a proposal for action on the part of the four Powers, England, France, Germany, and Italy, which was intended, by assuring to Austria all legitimate satisfaction, to bring about an equitable adjustment of the dispute.

But still all the efforts made by Great Britain, with the adherence of Russia and the support of France, to bring Austria and Serbia into touch under the moral patronage of Europe, were encountered at Berlin with a predetermined negative of which the diplomatic dispatches afford the clearest proof.

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This was a disquieting situation which made it probable that there existed at Berlin intentions which had not been disclosed. Some hours afterward this alarming suspicion was destined to become a certainty.

### MOBILIZATION IN EUROPE

On Wednesday, the 29th, the Russian Government, noting the persistent failure of the efforts for peace, faced by the Austrian mobilization and declaration of war, and fearing the military destruction of Serbia, decided as a precautionary measure to mobilize the troops of the four military districts along the Austro-Hungarian frontier. At the same time it had informed the German Government that these measures, restricted as they were and without any offensive character toward Austria, were not in any degree directed against Germany.

This partial mobilization undertaken by Russia in defence of the Serbian people both for reasons of sentiment and policy, based on close kinship of race and religion, gave Germany the excuse for which—true to the Bismarckian tradition—she had been seeking, and on July 31st, by proclaiming ‘a state of danger of war,’ she cut the communications between herself and the rest of Europe, and was able to pursue against France in absolute secrecy military preparations which could be justified only on the assumption that she was about to make war, for she well knew that any offensive steps taken by her against Russia must, by treaty obligations, be followed by an attack on her by Russia’s ally, France.

For some days, and in circumstances difficult to explain, Germany had prepared for the transition of her army from a peace to a war footing. From the morning of July 25th, before the expiration of the time limit given to Serbia, she had confined to barracks the garrisons of Alsace-Lorraine, and had placed the frontier works in a complete state of



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defence. On the 26th she had completed with the railways her arrangements for concentration; on the next day she placed her covering troops in position; and on the 28th the summons of individual reservists had begun and units which were distant from the frontier had been brought up to it. These measures, pursued with implacable method, give us a very clear hint of Germany's intentions.

Such was the situation when, on the evening of July 31st, the German Government, which, since the 24th, had not participated by any active step in the conciliatory efforts of the other Powers, addressed an ultimatum to the Russian Government, demanding that her mobilization should be stopped within twelve hours.

### THE RUSSIAN FORMULA

This demand, which was all the more insulting because a few hours earlier the Tsar, with a movement at once confiding and spontaneous, had asked the German Emperor for his mediation, was put forward at a moment when, at the request of England and with the knowledge of Germany, the Austrian Government was accepting a formula of such a nature as to lay the foundation for a friendly settlement by the simultaneous cessation of military preparations. For, soon after midnight of the 29th, Russia had offered to hold up all her preparations if Austria would consent to do the same, and if she would recognize "that the Austro-Serbian conflict has assumed the character of a question of European interest, and admit that the Great Powers may examine the satisfaction which Serbia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her sovereign rights as a state and to her independence."

On the 31st, Austria-Hungary declared her readiness to discuss the substance of her ultimatum to Serbia. M. Sazonof, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed his satisfaction, and said it was desirable that the discussions

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should take place in London with the participation of the Great Powers. He also hoped that the British Government would assume the direction of these discussions.

Thus Austria now agreed to do the very thing that previously she had so strongly protested against, viz., to reconsider the whole question of her ultimatum to Serbia. Germany, as well as all the other Powers, was at once made aware of this, but delay—with the possible entire abandonment of hostilities—was the last thing that Germany wanted, and her ultimatum to Russia effectually destroyed every hope of those who were striving for peace.

This ultimatum to Russia was followed on the same day by acts which were frankly hostile toward France; the rupture of communications by road, railway, telegraph, and telephone, the seizure of French locomotives on their arrival at the frontier, the placing of machine guns in the middle of the permanent way which had been cut, and the concentration of troops on the frontier; six classes of reservists were called up, and transport was collected even for army corps situated in the heart of the country.

Meanwhile mobilization had been proceeding in France *pari passu* with that in Germany. On July 25th measures of precaution were taken by the concentration of troops in the fortresses of Toul, Nancy, Neufchâtel, and Troyes, on the Franco-German frontier. On the following day officers were recalled, and on the 28th manœuvres, which were already in progress, were abandoned. Partial mobilization was ordered on the 29th, and on the 31st the covering troops were put on a war footing. On the afternoon of August 1st, after the German ultimatum had been sent to Russia, and at the same time as the order for general mobilization in Germany was issued, France ordered the entire mobilization of her army and navy.

The same evening at 7.30, Germany, without waiting for the acceptance by the Cabinet of Petrograd of the English



THE KING'S MESSAGE IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE ON TRAFALGAR DAY

Photo "Daily Mirror"





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proposal already mentioned, declared war on Russia, and the next day, Sunday, August 2nd, in defiance of international law, German troops crossed the French frontier at three different points.

### GREAT BRITAIN'S FIRST STEPS

Great Britain, meanwhile, was not letting the grass grow under her feet. Had the matter in hand been a question merely of a dispute between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, she would have maintained the same careful attitude of neutrality that distinguished her during the Balkan wars of 1912-13; but this was a far more serious and widely spreading conflagration, and so threatening to her that she was obliged to take steps to meet anything that might happen.

Quite apart from any necessity, either of honour or of ultimate self-defence, to go to the assistance of the little nations, Great Britain found herself by the mere force of circumstances obliged to take a prominent part in the coming Armageddon, or else go to the wall.

Because Serbia was the chief obstacle to the Austro-German advance to the Mediterranean and to the establishment of complete German control of the Balkans, the Dardanelles, Asia Minor, and of the land and sea routes to Egypt and India, Austria and Germany decided that the existence of Serbia as a separate kingdom must cease.

Russia's defence of what to her was a vital interest had drawn France into the arena, both by virtue of their treaties and by the necessities of her situation and political independence; and Great Britain was bound by every obligation of interest, friendship, and honour actively to side with Russia and France, lest the balance of power on the Continent were upset to her disadvantage, and she left to face a predominant Germany alone. Great Britain could no more afford to see France crushed by Germany than



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Germany could afford to see Austria overwhelmed by Russia ; the Power that dominates France would dominate Belgium and the Netherlands, and threaten the very foundations of the empire's existence—British sea-power.

For some years before those last days of July, owing to the feeling of confidence and friendship that existed between France and Great Britain, the French fleet had been concentrated in the Mediterranean, leaving the northern and western coasts of France absolutely undefended, and on August 2nd Sir Edward Grey gave France the assurance (subject to its endorsement by Parliament) that “ if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all the protection in its power,” thus leaving France free to settle the disposition of her Mediterranean fleet.

A short time before the crisis became serious the British fleet had been mobilized for a grand review at Spithead ; on July 24th the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Churchill, on his own initiative ordered the postponement of its demobilization. And on August 3rd, the day after Sir Edward Grey had given his assurance to France, the complete mobilization of the British fleet took place.

Meanwhile, on the evening of August 2nd, Germany sent an ultimatum to Belgium threatening that if she did not allow the German arms a free passage through her territory Germany would treat her as an enemy. She fixed twelve hours for a reply.

This phase of the origin of the participation of Great Britain in the war is dealt with more fully in the next chapter ; here it is sufficient to say that the ultimatum was treated with scorn by Belgium, and that next day Belgian territory was invaded.

The result in Great Britain was that on this day, August 4th, an ultimatum was sent to Germany, and the entire mobiliza-

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tion of the army ordered. By eleven o'clock that night Great Britain and Germany were at war.

The mobilization of the army proceeded with the utmost rapidity. Since the Morocco crisis of 1906 an expeditionary force of six divisions of infantry, four brigades of cavalry, ten batteries of horse artillery, and sixty-three batteries of field artillery, numbering in all about 150,000 men, had been kept in readiness for service abroad. In a very few days the vanguard of this force embarked from England, and by August 17th the whole, and more, was in northern France.

### UNDERLYING CAUSES

We have now traced the course of events from the firing of the fatal shot at Serajevo to the appearance of the nations of Europe on the battle-field, in the full panoply of war. It remains to us to hark back for some years and look into the underlying causes of the conflagration.

The inspiration of the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand was the feeling of hostility toward Austria that was widely entertained in Serbia. Bosnia, in the capital of which, it will be remembered, the crime was perpetrated, was a part of the ancient kingdom of Serbia. The bulk of its people are of Slavic origin and speak the Serbian language, and Serbia was eager to regain it as a possible outlet on the Adriatic. When, therefore, in 1908, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been under her military control for thirty years, the indignation in Serbia was great. While it had died down in a measure in the subsequent years, the feeling of injury survived in many hearts, and the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand was, broadly speaking, a result of this pervading sentiment.

It soon became evident that the military party in Austria was seeking to manufacture a popular demand for war, based on the assassination; but that the murder of the Archduke was the real cause of the Austrian action no one

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could accept, especially in view of Serbia's extreme readiness to accede to the rigid demands of Austria. The actual cause was undoubtedly a deeper one, that of the Teuton's long-cherished purpose of dominating Europe, and, as an important means to this end, of gaining a foothold on the Ægean Sea, for which the possession of Serbia was necessary as a preliminary step. By 'the Teutons' we mean, of course, the German and Austrian empires; and the two, in this connection, were very much in the positions of the artisan and his tool, Austria being the tool.

The Balkan States, of which Serbia is a prominent member, lie in a direct line between Europe and the Orient. A Great Power occupying the whole of the Balkan peninsula would possess political advantages far beyond those enjoyed either by Austria-Hungary or by the German empire as it is to-day. It would be in a position giving it great influence over, if not strategic control of, the Suez Canal, the commerce of the Mediterranean, and a possible all-rail route between Central Europe and the Far East. Salonika, on the Ægean Sea, since the Treaty of Bukarest in 1913 in Greek territory, is one of the finest harbours on the Mediterranean. A railway through Serbia connects this port with Austria and Germany, and it was not unlikely that in the near future a canal might connect the Danube with the harbour of Salonika. If this project should be carried out, the commerce of the Danube and its tributary streams and canals, even that of Central and Western Germany, would be able to reach the Mediterranean without passing through the perilous Iron Gates of the Danube, or being subjected to the delays and dangers incident to the long passage through the Black Sea and the Grecian Archipelago.

We can see in all this a powerful motive for an alliance of the two central empires to seek to gain possession of Serbia. The commercial and manufacturing interests of Austria-Hungary were growing; but Germany regarded herself as





LORD KITCHENER

*Photo Underwood and Underwood, London*



SIR JOHN D. P. FRENCH

*Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.*





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being almost in the position of heir-apparent to her dominions, and mastership of such a route to the Mediterranean would mean an immense advantage to this ambitious empire. Possession of northern Italy once gave Austria the advantage of an important outlet to the Mediterranean. This, through events that will be spoken of in later chapters, was lost to her, and ever since it had been in her mind to reach it by a more direct and open road, that leading through Salonika.

For the moment we will leave the consideration of what else Germany was to gain from the war, for she was playing for higher stakes even than the mastery of the Ægean, with all that that means, and continue our story of the actual outbreak.

A plausible motive for the Teutonic seizure of Serbia was needed, any pretext that would serve as a satisfactory excuse to Europe and that could at the same time be utilized in developing Austrian indignation against the Serbians. The excuse came in the assassination; the Austrian war party, as we have seen, contended that the deed was planned at Belgrade, that it had been fomented by Serbian officials, and that these had supplied the murderer with explosives and aided in their transfer into Bosnia. While it is not likely that there was any actual evidence for this, the case was one that called for investigation, and Austria was plainly within its rights in demanding such an inquiry and the due punishment of every one proved to have been connected with the tragic deed; but she had no right to go further than this and to demand of Serbia what amounted to the relinquishment of her sovereign rights.

It is perfectly certain, however Germany may protest to the contrary, that in pressing Serbia in this way Austria knew both that she had the full support of Germany and that she was imperilling the peace of Europe. The newspapers in her own capital of Vienna were clear on these

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points ; one of them said that the policies of Germany and Austria “ move along the same road,” while in the *Pester Lloyd* appeared a statement to the effect that the remotest consequences of the ultimatum had been fully thought out, and that the Dual Monarchy was ready to meet them all, arms in hand.

That the intention of this imperious demand was to force a war, no one can doubt. Serbia’s nearly complete assent to the conditions imposed was declared to be not only unsatisfactory, but also ‘ dishonourable,’ a word doubtless deliberately used. Evidently no door was to be left open by which she could escape.

But what brought Germany, what brought France, what brought practically the whole of Europe into the struggle ? What caused it to grow with startling suddenness from a minor into a major conflict, from a contest between a dachshund and a terrier into a battle between lions ? What were the unseen and unnoted conditions that, within the space of little more than one week, induced all the leading nations of Europe to spring full-armed into the arena, bent upon a struggle which threatened to surpass any that the world had ever seen ? All Europe appeared to be sitting, knowingly or unknowingly, upon a powder-barrel which only needed some inconsequent hand to apply the match, and at first sight it seems incredible that the mere pulling of a trigger by a Serbian student and the slaying of an archduke in a remote capital could in a month’s time have plunged all Europe into war.

We cannot hope to point out all the varied causes which were at work in this vast event ; we must restrict ourselves to the most important.

### THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND TRIPLE ENTENTE

And first, we must refer to the two great divisions into which, so far as the Great Powers are concerned, Europe has been

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split up for some years, namely, the 'Triple Alliance' and the 'Triple Entente.'

The Triple Alliance first appears as a Dual Alliance in 1879, when Bismarck concluded between Germany and Austria-Hungary a defensive treaty against Russia. In 1882 this was turned into the Triple Alliance as it existed at the outbreak of the Great War by the addition of Italy, which at that time was in a state of isolation in Europe. Thus a solid block of Powers was set up in Central Europe, forming an insuperable barrier to any joining of the French and Russian forces.

In somewhat similar fashion the Triple Entente—or Understanding—arose. This was not precisely an alliance in the sense of that just spoken of, but—in Sir Edward Grey's phrase—a 'diplomatic group'; though so far as France and Russia were concerned it had been since 1896 a strict alliance in every sense of the term. Great Britain came into touch with this in 1904, when, largely through the personal endeavours of King Edward VII, she entered into a convention with France, principally on matters concerning Egypt and Morocco.

In Germany this Anglo-French Agreement was viewed with great misgiving and was a decided check on her foreign policy, which for many years had been largely concerned with keeping France and England apart. Germany thought it to be conceived in a spirit hostile to her, but this view was certainly erroneous. "The origin of the Entente," says Lord Cromer, "is to be found in the fact that both nations simultaneously appreciated the danger lest the frequent bickerings which occurred in Egypt and elsewhere might sooner or later seriously imperil their own friendly relations." In 1907 Great Britain made a similar convention with Russia respecting Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, and the Triple Entente may be said to have become complete. On September 4th, 1914, it was carried a step further, however,



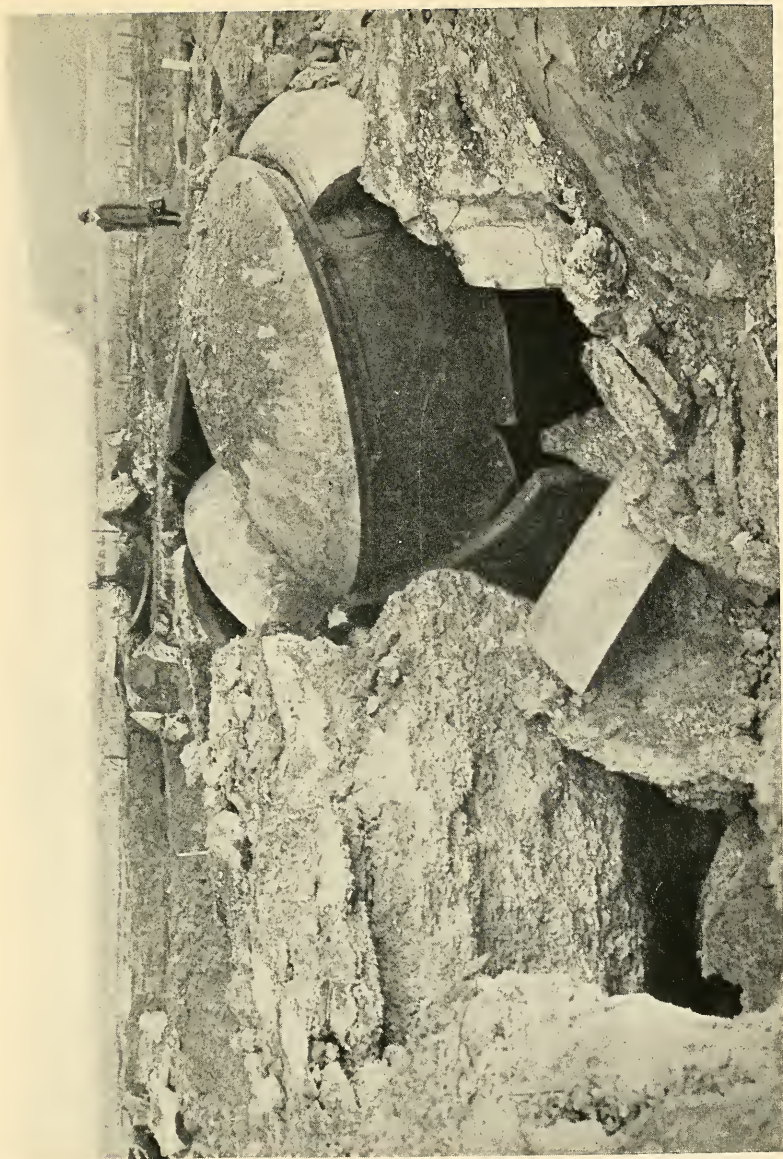
## THE NATIONS AT WAR

for on that date the three Powers mutually engaged "not to conclude peace separately during the present war," and further, that "when terms of peace come to be discussed, no one of the Allies will demand terms of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other Allies."

### GERMANY'S COMPLICITY

Allusion has already been made to the fact that Austria could not have acted as she did in her treatment of Serbia without the assurance of Germany's support, and, we may add, without her direct instigation. It is true that Germany has again and again denied that she had any knowledge of the Austrian ultimatum before it was presented. But the statement is on the face of it most improbable, it will not bear the most superficial examination, and it is safe to say that nobody outside Germany has ever put the slightest faith in it. When telegraphing to Sir Edward Grey on July 30th, the British ambassador said that he had private information that the German ambassador knew the text of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was dispatched and telegraphed it to the Kaiser. He added that the German ambassador himself endorsed every line of it. Further than this, in his long dispatch dated September 1st, he said: "The delivery at Belgrade on the 23rd July of the Austrian note to Serbia was preceded by a period of absolute silence at the Ballplatz. Except the German ambassador, who must have been aware of the tenor, if not of the actual words, of the Note, none of my colleagues was allowed to see through the veil." These words are very suggestive.

Beyond this it must be remembered that as Austria was the weaker of the two allies she could not have proceeded to the lengths she did without the support of Germany; and indeed in the German official papers there is a direct admission that she was consulted by Austria previous to the ultimatum. She records her answer as follows: "We were able to assure



THE HAVOC OF THE GREAT GERMAN GUNS AT LIÈGE: A WRECKED FORT

*Photo Alfieri*





## THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

our ally most heartily of our agreement with her view of the situation, and to assure her that any action that she might consider it necessary to take in order to put an end to the movement in Serbia directed against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would receive our approval. We were fully aware in this connection that warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Serbia would bring Russia into the question, and might draw us into a war in accordance with our duties as an ally.

“ We could not, however, in these vital interests of Austria-Hungary which were at stake, advise our ally to take a yielding attitude not compatible with her dignity, nor deny her our assistance in these trying days. We could do this all the less as our own interests were menaced. . . . We, therefore, permitted Austria a completely free hand in her action toward Serbia.”

These extracts will be enough to show at least the probability of Germany's pre-knowledge of the ultimatum, and are at least proof that she gave her ally *carte blanche*.

Austria well knew that she was not strong enough, single-handed, to withstand the onslaught of the Russian bear, which, as certainly as the night the day, would follow her meditated attack on ‘ the little Slav brother ’ ; she knew, too, that there were certain very strong reasons over and above treaty obligations (which do not weigh very strongly with Germany) that would bring her powerful ally to her side. Let us now see what those reasons were.

In 1870–1 two very important events happened in Europe : the first and less important (which is treated fully in a later chapter) was the crushing of France by Prussia. The second was the formation of the German empire, a union of the states of the mid-European territory which, in Prince von Bülow's weighty words, “ so long prevented, so often feared, and at last accomplished by the force of German arms and

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incomparable statesmanship, seemed to imply something of the nature of a threat, or at any rate to be a disturbing factor." The new empire was at first given anything but a hearty welcome by the European family ; but from the day of her birth she grew with astonishing rapidity in wealth, in population, in honour among the nations, and in fact in every direction except in that of territory. For some years this was not a matter of great importance ; and Bismarck, who was averse to seeing his country entangled in foreign disputes, was quite content when France, instead of occupying herself with schemes and projects to upset the Treaty of Frankfort and regain possession of her lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, was using her wonderful recrudescence of energy in snapping up and colonizing the best parts of northern Africa that were then unoccupied.

### KAISER WILHELM II

But soon after 1888, when Kaiser Wilhelm II, whose character is a neurotic mixture of megalomania and ambition, came to the throne, a decided change took place. The Iron Chancellor, who had grown grey in the service of his grandfather, was dismissed by the headstrong young emperor, and, as has been well said, " in the sphere of foreign policy his loss was irreparable." For eight years the vast wealth of his experience, with which that of no living European statesman could compare, lay idle and unused.

Wilhelm II's foreign policy and his bitter chagrin at not being able to find a suitable ' place in the sun ' for his overgrown country are more fully treated in a later chapter ; here it is sufficient to say that it was largely his unsatisfied desire for dominion, his unfulfilled lust of world-power, that led him to challenge the world in arms and to drag his Austrian ally with him. For, in spite of the fact that it was Austria that set light to the powder-barrel whose explosion caused such widespread havoc throughout Europe,

## THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

there is no shadow of doubt that it was Germany that struck the match.

### NEUTRALITY OF ITALY

We have already spoken of the joint Germano-Austrian reasons for wishing to disturb the peace of Europe, and have mentioned that both countries knowingly used Serbia as a means to their end. It is of interest to note here that early in December, 1914, it was announced in the Italian Chamber by Signor Giolitti that so long ago as the middle of 1913 Austria was contemplating an attack on Serbia, and that she sounded Signor Giolitti (who was then Prime Minister) on the matter. Giolitti refused to take action with her ally, and for the time the subject was dropped; but the incident is doubly significant, for in the first place it is one more link in the chain of evidence that proves that the Serajevo assassination was indeed nothing more than a pretext; and in the second place it supplies the answer to the question, "Why did not Austria and Germany take their third ally, Italy, into their confidence when they were planning their ultimatum to Serbia?"

Thus, when the war came the Teutons were fully aware that they could not count on any assistance from Italy; but this knowledge did not disturb them overmuch, as they seem almost to the last to have taken it for granted that Great Britain would stand aside and watch while they defeated first France and then Russia.

Quite apart from Austria, Germany had reasons of her own for plunging into war, and these reasons were all bound up with that hunger for world-power that we have already mentioned.

### GERMANY'S INNER PURPOSE

Germany's purpose was that of establishing beyond question her political and military supremacy in Europe. Military



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despotism in Germany was the decisive factor in making inevitable the general war. The Kaiser stood as the incarnation and exponent of the Prussian policy of military autocracy. He had ruled all German states in unwavering obedience to the militarist maxim: "In times of peace prepare for war." He had used to the full his autocratic power in building up the German empire and in making it not only a marvel of industrial efficiency, but also a stupendous military machine. In this effort he had burdened the people of Germany with an ever-increasing war budget. The limit in this direction was reached in 1912, when the revenues of the princes and of all citizens of wealth were specially taxed. No new sources of revenue remained. A crisis had come.

That crisis, which led to such tremendous results, was not any menace from Britain, nor, primarily, any fear of the British power. It was rather, as will be seen in Chapter IV, the very real and very rapidly rising threat of the new great Slav power on Germany's border.

Recent events, especially in the Balkan wars, had made it plain, not to the German Emperor alone, but to all the world, that the growth into an organized Power of more than two hundred millions of Slavs along nearly three thousand miles of international frontier was a menace to the preservation of Teuton supremacy in Europe. That Teuton supremacy was based on the sword. The German official papers, published in the very early days of the war, show clearly that the aim of the two empires was really directed at Russia, though the blow was to be struck through Serbia; it was the firm purpose of the Teutonic Powers to bring about for ever and irrevocably the definite abandonment of Russia's traditional claim to the guardianship of the Slav race.

But this, though in itself a mighty undertaking, was only a means to the general end of Germany's statecraft. The

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*Lokalanzeiger* gave away Germany's case when it said that her object was to take her stand as the mightiest nation, which would at last be in the position to give to the world, "with that moderation and forbearance" that are its own, such peace and prosperity as it chooses that others should enjoy. It was this same semi-official journal, it may be noted, that described as fruitless any possible appeals that Serbia might make to "St Petersburg, Paris, Athens, or Bukarest."

And to attain this end it was not enough that the wardship of the Slav races should be wrested from the hand of Russia, however bitter a humiliation this would be to the northern empire. There was an even more powerful empire standing in the way of Germany's ambitions—the British.

From a study of the diplomatic papers of the various nations it becomes more and more evident that in the early stages of the controversy it was Germany's main object to isolate Great Britain; it will be brought out more fully below how she did her utmost to induce her to take up a position of neutrality; it is sufficient here to say that for very excellent reasons this endeavour failed, and that in consequence of the failure Germany found herself with rather more on her hands than she had hoped for, though, thanks to her far-seeing militarist policy, she was prepared even for this.

Territorial aggrandisement in Europe itself was also doubtless in Germany's mind when she went to war. The memory of how she acquired Schleswig-Holstein—not to mention Alsace-Lorraine—is still fresh in the minds of many still living; and there was apparently no reason why she should not by similar methods obtain possession of Holland and Belgium, countries which would obviously be of even greater value to her than either of the others. Belgium and Holland lay between her and the coasts of England, and the incorporation of these two countries would, with their splendid ports, pay her well for a reasonable degree of risk and cost.

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

The invasion of Belgium as her first move in the war, besides providing her with the best means of attacking France, may very likely have had an ulterior purpose in the acquisition of a country which would give her an even greater hold over France than did that of Alsace-Lorraine. The neutral position taken up by Holland is to be explained by the terrible situation in which she found herself placed, with the menace of a German army upon her frontier. There is little doubt, however, that she fully realized that the annexation of Belgium by Germany would lead in due course to the loss of her own independence. Indeed, there is on record the statement of the German Chancellor that Belgium would be useless to Germany without at least a portion of Dutch territory.

### RUSSIA'S PART IN THE CATACLYSM

In this survey of the causes of the Great War the position of Russia comes next. In Chapter IV will be found an account of Pan-Slavism *versus* Pan-Germanism, and here we will point out that Russia was the first to follow Austria and begin mobilization. We have already seen what brought her into the field, and how impossible it was for her to accede to Germany's demand that she should demobilize. Russia had already suffered one bitter humiliation at the hands of the Teutons in connection with her Slav policy; not many years before, when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, Russia protested against the act. She would doubtless have done more than protest but for her financial and military weakness, arising from the then recent Russo-Japanese War. In 1914 she was much stronger in both these elements of national power, and lost not a day in preparing to march to Serbia's aid.

There were many, however, who were not ready to credit the Russian bear with an act of pure benevolence—a war of pure charity is sufficiently rare to make one slightly sus-

## THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

picious—and, as it has been suggested that Germany saw in the war a possible opportunity to gain a frontier on the Atlantic, so it was hinted that Russia had in mind a similar frontier on the Mediterranean. Time and again she had sought to wring Constantinople from the hands of the Turk. In 1877 she was on the point of achieving this purpose when she was turned back by the Congress of Berlin. Here was another and seemingly a much better opportunity.

The Balkan War had almost accomplished the conquest of the great Turkish capital and left Turkey in a state of serious weakness. If Europe should be thrown into the throes of a general war, in which every nation would have its own interests to care for, Russia's opportunity to seize upon the prize for which she had so long sought was an excellent one, there being no one in a position to say her nay. To Russia the possession of Constantinople would be like the possession of a new world, and this may well have been a contributory cause to her springing without hesitation into the war.

### FRANCE

The Republic of France was less hasty than Austria and Germany in issuing a declaration of war. Yet there, too, the order of mobilization was quickly issued, as indeed was necessary in view of her treaty obligations, and to preserve her existence as a Great Power. And although the intense hatred of Germany that for so many years after the events of 1870-1 occupied every French bosom had to a large extent sunk beneath the surface, the feeling of *revanche* was there, and was kept vitally alive by the fact that Alsace and Lorraine, which even yet possessed a considerable French population, still formed part of the German dominions. We may reasonably believe that the possibility of regaining this lost territory made France eager to take part in the coming war. She had been despoiled by Germany, a valued



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portion of her territory had been wrested from her grasp—a promising chance of regaining it lay before her. She had the men; she had the arms; she had the memory of her former triumphs over the now allied nations of Austria and Germany; she had her obligations to Russia as a further inducement; and, in spite of the recent damaging disclosures in the Chamber, she had a military organization vastly superior to that of 1870.



REFUGEES IN BELGIUM

*Photo Record Press*



## CHAPTER III

### THE CAUSE OF GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

*The Neutrality of Belgium : Germany and Belgium in 1911 and 1913 : Germany's Change in 1914 : Some Prophecies fulfilled : One Excuse for Invasion of Belgium : Another Excuse : The Declaration of War : Germany's bid for British Neutrality : Luxembourg : Delivery of the British Ultimatum : 'A Scrap of Paper' : The Last Word : Japan : Turkey : Possible Additions to the Nations at War*

WE now come to deal with the cause of the participation of Great Britain in the conflict.

We have suggested that in the case alike of Austria and Germany, and possibly in that of France and Russia as well, the hope of gaining valuable acquisitions of territory was entertained. In the case of France, enmity to Germany was an added motive, the territory she might hope to gain being land of which she had been formerly despoiled. These purposes of changing the map of Europe did not apply to or influence Great Britain, who had no territory to gain and no great military organization to exercise. She possessed the most powerful navy of any country in the world, but she was moved by no desire of showing her strength upon the sea. There was no reason, so far as any positive advantage to herself was concerned, for her taking part in the war, and her first steps, as we have seen, were all generously directed toward mediation between the Powers in arms.

Only when Belgium—a small nation that was in a sense under the guardianship of Great Britain, so far as its nationality and neutrality were concerned—was invaded by Germany, did Britain feel it incumbent upon her to take part in the war as a belligerent. We have already seen in an earlier part of this chapter how necessary it was, quite apart from the question of the neutrality of Belgium, for Great



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Britain to intervene. It was of the utmost importance to her that the balance of power in Europe should not be disturbed and that France should not be beaten to her knees by Germany; but since the matter of the neutrality of Belgium was 'the last straw,' it will be as well if we look into it somewhat fully.

### THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM

So long ago as November, 1831, at the time of the separation of Belgium from Holland, a treaty was signed in London between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Belgium, one of the articles of which laid down that Belgium should form an independent and perpetually neutral state.

Owing to the state of affairs in the Netherlands at the time (see Chapter XI) this treaty was not signed by Holland, but in April, 1839, another treaty, to which Holland was a party, and which included a clause to precisely the same effect, was signed, again in London.

This, as Sir Edward Grey said, is the governing factor, but it is a treaty with a history—a history accumulated since. At the time of the Franco-Prussian War the question of the neutrality of Belgium arose, and Bismarck gave an assurance—which he said was superfluous in reference to the treaty in existence—that the German Confederation and its allies would respect this neutrality. Great Britain entered into new treaties with both France and Germany on this point, and each treaty ended with a clause to the effect that on the expiration of twelve months after a treaty of peace between the belligerents the independence and neutrality of Belgium will continue to rest as heretofore on the treaty of 1839.

To come down to our own day, on July 31st, when mobilization for the Great War was at its very beginning, Sir Edward Grey, knowing that this question must be a most important

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element in the British policy, telegraphed to Paris and Berlin to say that it was essential for Great Britain to know whether the French and German Governments respectively were prepared to undertake an engagement to respect the neutrality of Belgium. From the French Government came this reply :

“The French Government are resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other Power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure the defence of her security, to act otherwise. This assurance has been given several times. The President of the Republic spoke of it to the King of the Belgians, and the French minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day.”

From the German Government the reply was :

“The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could not possibly give an answer before consulting the Emperor and the Imperial Chancellor.”

At the same time the German Minister for Foreign Affairs gave the British ambassador to understand that he rather doubted whether they could answer at all, as any reply they might give could not fail, in the event of war, to have the undesirable effect of disclosing to a certain extent part of their plan of campaign.

This statement in itself is very ominous, but the full depth of its duplicity does not appear until we contrast it with the statement of Germany's accredited representative at Brussels on the same day.

In the course of a conversation which Baron van der Elst, the Secretary of the Belgian Foreign Department, had with Herr von Bülow, the German minister, that morning, he explained to the German minister the scope of the military measures that Belgium had taken, and told him that they were a consequence of her desire to fulfil her international

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obligations, and that they in no wise implied an attitude of distrust toward her neighbours.

### GERMANY AND BELGIUM IN 1911 AND 1913

The Secretary-General then asked the German minister if he knew of the conversation which he had had with his predecessor, Herr von Flotow, and of the reply which the Imperial Chancellor had instructed the latter to give.

In the course of the controversy which arose in 1911 as a consequence of the Dutch scheme for the fortification of Flushing, certain newspapers had maintained that in the case of a Franco-German war Belgian neutrality would be violated by Germany. The Belgian Department of Foreign Affairs had suggested that a declaration in the German parliament would serve to calm public opinion, and to dispel the mistrust which was so regrettable from the point of view of the relations between the two countries.

Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg replied that he had fully appreciated the feelings which had inspired the Belgian representations. He declared that *Germany had no intention of violating Belgian neutrality*, but he considered that in making a public declaration Germany would weaken her military position in regard to France, who, secured on the northern side, would concentrate all her energies on the east. Baron van der Elst, continuing, said that he perfectly understood the objections raised by Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg to the proposed public declaration, and he recalled the fact that since then, in 1913, Herr von Jagow had reassured the Budget Commission of the Reichstag respecting the maintenance of Belgian neutrality.

On July 31st, 1914, Herr von Bülow admitted that he knew of this conversation, and said *he was certain that the sentiments expressed at that time had not changed*.

The declarations referred to above were made both by Herr von Jagow and the Minister of War on April 29th, 1913.



## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

The following is a translation of the account published in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* :

“A member of the Social Democrat party said : ‘The approach of a war between Germany and France is viewed with apprehension in Belgium, for it is feared that Germany will not respect the neutrality of Belgium.’

“Herr von Jagow, Secretary of State, replied : ‘Belgian neutrality is provided for by international conventions *and Germany is determined to respect those conventions.*’

“This declaration did not satisfy another member of the Social Democrat party. Herr von Jagow said that he had nothing to add to the clear statement he had made respecting the relations between Germany and Belgium.

“In answer to fresh inquiries by a member of the Social Democrat party, Herr von Heeringen, the Minister of War, replied : ‘Belgium plays no part in the causes which justify the proposed reorganization of the German military system. That proposal is based on the situation in the East. *Germany will not lose sight of the fact that the neutrality of Belgium is guaranteed by international treaty.*’

“A member of the Progressive party having once again spoken of Belgium, Herr von Jagow repeated that this declaration in regard to Belgium was sufficiently clear.”

### GERMANY'S CHANGE IN 1914

Let us contrast these sentences with the following from the speech of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag on August 4th :

“Gentlemen,” he said, “we are now in a position of necessity ; and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg ; perhaps they have already entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, this is in contradiction to the rules of international law. We were forced to set aside the just protests of the Luxemburg and Belgian Governments. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong that we now do



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we will try to make good again as soon as our military ends have been reached. When one is threatened as we are, and all is at stake, he can only think of how he can hack his way through."

Comment is needless.

The most charitable deduction to make is that the higher German authorities would not trust even their own representatives; but while it is evident that these higher authorities had, all along, intended to betray the country that they had so clearly promised to defend, it was necessary that they should be ready with some excuse that could be put forward to justify them in the eyes of the civilized world.

### SOME PROPHECIES FULFILLED

In a remarkable article published in the *Spectator* of February 14th, 1914, Lord Cromer, after pointing out that the Franco-Prussian War was planned by Bismarck in order to secure the unification of Germany, remarks: "With a wide experience of the past before us, we cannot feel any very strong assurance that the incidents of German internal policy will not again necessitate an attack on some foreign Power. Should that necessity arise, it cannot be doubted that an adroit diplomacy could and would manufacture occurrences tending to show that the war was forced on the reluctant and peace-loving population of Germany."

What followed with regard to Belgium is only one of the many proofs of the entire correctness of this prophecy, furnished by the opening moves in the Great War; and in passing we may be allowed to refer to another remarkable prophecy.

So long ago as January, 1913, Frederic Harrison, in the *English Review*, wrote an article on the new era opened by the close of the Balkan wars and dealing mainly with its effects on and through the Teutonic empires. In the course of that article he said: "The far more imminent risk is

## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

that Belgium, northern France, Holland, either one or all, may be the object of assault; or in the case of the Low Countries, of practical control without actual war. We know that systematic preparation for this has long been made. . . . Now, even the 'control' of any parts of Belgium and of Holland—obtained by diplomacy or extorted by pressure—would be so formidable a menace to France that she could not submit to it without a strenuous effort. Could England submit to it, or refuse to join her efforts with France; and much more so if annexation or complete alliance were in question, rather than 'control'?"

Such words from such quarters, and many similar prophecies that might be given, were surely warning enough to those that had ears to hear that all was not well in Europe and that a day of reckoning was at hand!

### ONE EXCUSE FOR INVASION OF BELGIUM

The 'occurrence' foretold by Lord Cromer was a *French* invasion of Belgium, having for its object an attack on Germany. France, it will be remembered, had, in contradistinction to Germany, at once replied to the inquiry of Great Britain to the effect that in all events she would respect Belgium's neutrality; and there is conclusive evidence to prove that she had done so.

The information concerning this 'invasion' was conveyed to the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs in a Note presented to him by the German minister at Brussels on August 2nd. We give the answer (dated August 3rd, 7 A.M.) as that contains also a précis of the German Note:

"The German Government stated in their Note of the 2nd August, 1914, that according to reliable information French forces intended to march on the Meuse *via* Givet and Namur, and that Belgium, in spite of the best intentions, would not be in a position to repulse, without assistance, an advance of French troops.

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

“ The German Government, therefore, consider themselves compelled to anticipate this attack and to violate Belgian territory. In these circumstances, Germany proposed to the Belgian Government to adopt a friendly attitude toward her, and undertook, on the conclusion of peace, to guarantee the integrity of the kingdom and its possessions to their full extent. The Note added that if Belgium put difficulties in the way of the advance of German troops, Germany would be compelled to consider her as an enemy, and to leave the ultimate adjustment of the relations between the two states to the decision of arms.

“ This Note has made a deep and painful impression upon the Belgian Government.

“ The intentions attributed to France by Germany are in contradiction to the formal declarations made to us on August 1st, in the name of the French Government.

“ Moreover, if, contrary to our expectation, Belgian neutrality should be violated by France, Belgium intends to fulfil her international obligations and the Belgian army would offer the most vigorous resistance to the invader.

“ The treaties of 1839, confirmed by the treaties of 1870, vouch for the independence and neutrality of Belgium under the guarantee of the Powers, and notably of the Government of His Majesty the King of Prussia.

“ Belgium has always been faithful to her international obligations, she has carried out her duties in a spirit of loyal impartiality, and she has left nothing undone to maintain and enforce respect for her neutrality.

“ The attack upon her independence with which the German Government threaten her constitutes a flagrant violation of international law. No strategic interest justifies such a violation of law.

“ The Belgian Government, if they were to accept the proposals submitted to them, would sacrifice the honour of the nation and betray their duty toward Europe.





DESTRUCTION OF THE BEAUTIFUL CLOTH HALL, AT YPRES

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*





## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

“ Conscious of the part which Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, they refuse to believe that the independence of Belgium can only be preserved at the price of the violation of her neutrality.

“ If this hope is disappointed the Belgian Government are firmly resolved to repel, by all the means in their power, every attack upon their rights.

“ DAVIGNON.”

(*Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs.*)

### ANOTHER EXCUSE

Even in such an important matter as this, however, the Germans would not allow their right hand to know what their left was doing. If we are to believe Herr von Jagow, the German Secretary of State, he was in entire ignorance of this ‘invasion.’ It surely shows very great lack of confidence that he, the most important official of them all, should have been left so completely in the dark; but let us hear his own account of why his people violated Belgian neutrality.

In speaking to Sir Edward Goschen, the British ambassador at Berlin, on the matter on August 4th, he went into the reasons why the Imperial Government had been obliged to take this step, and said that they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was “ a matter of life and death,” he went on, “ as if they had gone by the more southern route they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset.” Sir Edward pointed out that this *fait accompli* of the violation of the

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Belgian frontier rendered the situation exceedingly grave, and asked the Secretary of State whether there was not still time to draw back and avoid possible consequences which both would deplore. Herr von Jagow replied that, *for the reasons he had given*, it was now impossible to draw back. If anything were needed to prove that this story of a violation of Belgian territory by France was what the French Premier, M. Viviani, stigmatized as a "lying pretext" this is surely enough; for it is quite inconceivable that, had it occurred, Herr von Jagow would not have been the first to have been apprised of it; and it is still more inconceivable that he would have concealed so excellent an excuse from the British ambassador.

### THE DECLARATION OF WAR

On the day after the receipt of M. Davignon's letter (given above) by Germany, Germany declared war on Belgium. This was immediately followed by an ultimatum from Great Britain protesting against Germany's action, and asking her for a declaration that she would respect Belgium's neutrality, similar to that given by France, which declaration was to be in the hands of Great Britain by 12 o'clock that night. No answer was received: and war was in consequence declared.

### GERMANY'S BID FOR BRITISH NEUTRALITY

Here it will be as well to be reminded that the Teutonic empires, particularly Germany, had all along been taking it for granted that Russia would climb down, that France was a negligible quantity, and that Great Britain, particularly in view of her own domestic difficulties and the threatened outbreak of a serious rebellion in Ireland, would stand aside altogether.

By July 29th, however, Germany saw that there was at least a possibility of her having made a mistake, and on that day made her first bid for British neutrality. The Chancellor

## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

told the British ambassador that he was fully aware that Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed, and added that that was not the object at which Germany aimed. "Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain," he went on, "every assurance would be given that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France."

When questioned about the French colonies, the Chancellor said that *he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect*. As regards Holland, however, His Excellency said that so long as Germany's adversaries respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, Germany was ready to give an assurance that she would do likewise. "It depended upon the action of France what operations Germany might be forced to enter upon in Belgium, but when the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany."

On that day, too, Sir Edward Grey gave Germany very distinctly to understand that Great Britain could not remain indifferent if France were drawn into a war, and on the following day he sent an emphatic reply to Germany's bid for neutrality commencing with the words: "His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms." He pointed out that from the material point of view the proposal that England should stand by while French colonies were taken and France beaten, so long as Germany did not take French territory as distinct from the colonies, was unacceptable, for even on such terms France could be so crushed as to lose her position as a Great Power, and become subordinate to German policy.

Quite apart from that it would be a disgrace from which Great Britain would never recover if she were to make such a bargain with Germany, while as for Germany's suggested action with regard to Belgium, Sir Edward said that "we



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

could not entertain that bargain either." The telegram ends with yet another attempt to secure the peace of Europe. It is unnecessary for our purpose to go further into this matter of the neutrality of Belgium, and its wanton infringement; but we should like to point out that the treaty of 1839, besides arranging for its recognition by the Powers, laid upon Belgium the obligation of resisting any invasion, and therefore it was not only her right but her duty to oppose every obstacle to the advance of her overwhelmingly powerful neighbour. How she fulfilled this duty all the world knows and all the world will remember "to the last syllable of recorded time"; and we will conclude the consideration of this matter with her gallant king's touching appeal to King George V, on August 3rd, an appeal that was not sent in vain:

"Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship," it ran, "and that of your predecessors, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870, and the proof of friendship she has just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium."

### LUXEMBURG

A word must be said on the question of the infringement of the neutrality of Luxemburg, to which attention has been directed by the allusion in Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech (quoted on pages 49-50).

This little state was invaded by the German troops on August 2nd, without a pretence of a quarrel, and with the sole excuse that she feared a seizure of the Luxemburg railways by France—on grounds, be it noted, that have for obvious reasons never been disclosed.

The perpetual neutrality of Luxemburg was guaranteed by the Treaty of London of 1867 (see p. 269), which was still in force and which was signed by Prussia and Austria as well

## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

as by Great Britain, France, Russia, and other European states.

On August 2nd, the same day as the invasion, the French ambassador in London spoke to Sir Edward Grey on the matter, and the Secretary of State reminded him that the convention of 1867 differed from the treaty referring to Belgium, in that England was bound to require the observance of the latter without the assistance of the other guaranteeing Powers, while with regard to Luxemburg all the guaranteeing Powers were to act in concert. In 1867 Lord Derby and Lord Clarendon had declared that the guarantee of the neutrality of Luxemburg was "limited in liability," and implied more a "moral sanction than a contingent liability to go to war"; in consequence of this, and perhaps also in view of the extremely strained situation then prevailing, Great Britain did not consider that this invasion constituted a *casus belli*.

### DELIVERY OF THE BRITISH ULTIMATUM

It was, of course, Sir Edward Goschen who delivered the British ultimatum to the German Secretary of State, and it is desirable that the account of their interview and the subsequent proceedings should be given in the ambassador's own words.

"During the afternoon (of August 4th)," writes Sir Edward, "I again proceeded to the Imperial Foreign Office and informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial Government could give the assurance by 12 o'clock that night that they would proceed no further with their violation of the Belgian frontier and stop their advance, I had been instructed to demand my passports and inform the Imperial Government that His Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves.

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

“ Herr von Jagow replied that to his great regret he could give no other answer than that which he had given me earlier in the day, namely, that the safety of the Empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the Imperial troops should advance through Belgium. I gave His Excellency a written summary of your telegram, and, pointing out that you had mentioned 12 o'clock as the time when His Majesty's Government would expect an answer, asked him whether, in view of the terrible consequences which would necessarily ensue, it were not possible even at the last moment that their answer should be reconsidered. He replied that if the time given were even twenty-four hours or more, his answer must be the same. I said that in that case I should have to demand my passports. This interview took place at about 7 o'clock. In a short conversation which ensued Herr von Jagow expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain, and then, through Great Britain, to get closer to France. I said that this sudden end to my work in Berlin was to me also a matter of deep regret and disappointment, but that he must understand that under the circumstances and in view of our engagements, His Majesty's Government could not possibly have acted otherwise than they had done.

“ I then said that I should like to go and see the Chancellor, as it might be, perhaps, the last time I should have an opportunity of seeing him. He begged me to do so. I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes.

### ‘ A SCRAP OF PAPER ’

“ He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—‘ neutrality,’ a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make

## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable ; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen. I protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honour of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future ? The Chancellor said, 'But at what price will that compact have been kept. Has the British Government thought of that ?' I hinted to His Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements, but His Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, and so little disposed to hear reason that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument. As I was leaving he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater, that almost up to the last moment he and his government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Austria and Russia. I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw the two nations fall apart just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria, the war had spread and had brought us face to face with a situation which, if we held to our engagements, we could not possibly avoid, and which unfortunately entailed our separation from our late fellow-workers. He would readily understand that no one regretted this more than I.

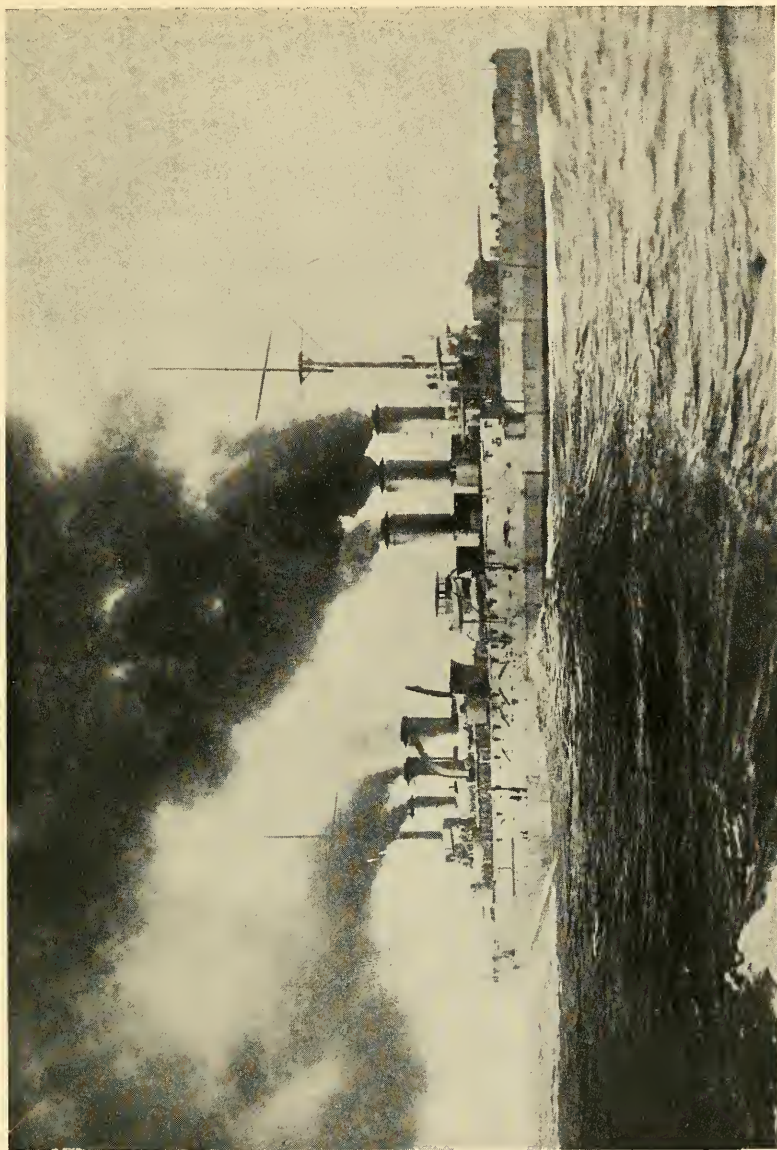
### THE LAST WORD

“At about 9.30 P.M. Herr von Zimmermann, the Under-Secretary of State, came to see me. After expressing his deep regret that the very friendly official and personal relations between us were about to cease, he asked me casually whether a demand for passports was equivalent to a declaration of war. I said that such an authority on international law as he was known to be must know as well or better than I what was usual in such cases. I added that there were many cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off, and, nevertheless, war had not ensued; but that in this case he would have seen from my instructions, of which I had given Herr von Jagow a written summary, that His Majesty's Government expected an answer to a definite question by 12 o'clock that night and that in default of a satisfactory answer they would be forced to take such steps as their engagements required. Herr Zimmermann said that that was, in fact, a declaration of war, as the Imperial Government could not possibly give the assurance required either that night or any other night.”

As we have seen, no answer was sent and the result was war.

### JAPAN

We have now brought the story of the outbreak of the Great War down to the time when nearly all the great nations of Europe were involved in it; we have seen Serbia, Russia, France, Great Britain, and gallant little Belgium



ONE OF THE LATEST FRENCH DREADNOUGHTS, THE "WALDECK-ROUSSEAU"

*Photo World's Graphic Press, Ltd.*



## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

arrayed in arms against the empires of Germany and Austria ; but the war had not been in progress for very long before other nations had stepped into the fray, Japan against, and Turkey on the side of, the Teutonic Allies. A brief mention of the reasons that induced these Far and Near Eastern Powers to take their places in the arena will not be out of place.

It will be seen in Chapter XXII of this book how, after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-5, Germany headed the movement that deprived Japan of the fruits of her victory, and how Germany 'leased' from China the very strong position of Kiao-chau and its port, Tsingtau. The indignation aroused in the breast of Japan by that act has never been allowed to die down.

By the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 (renewed in subsequent years) it was agreed that whenever their rights and interests were in jeopardy the two nations should consider in common what measures should be taken. Consequently, soon after the opening of hostilities a consultation was held, and the result was the following official announcement on August 17th : " The Governments of Great Britain and Japan having been in communication with each other, are of opinion that it is necessary for each to take action to protect the general interest in the Far East contemplated by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, keeping specially in view the independence and integrity of China, and provided for in that agreement. It is understood that the action of Japan will not extend to the Pacific Ocean beyond the China Seas except in so far as it may be necessary to protect Japanese shipping lines in the Pacific, nor beyond Asiatic waters westward of the China Seas, nor to any foreign territory except territory in German occupation on the continent of Eastern Asia."

On August 15th Japan presented her ultimatum to Germany requesting her to evacuate Kiao-chau within three weeks, and giving her till the 23rd to reply. As no answer was



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

received war was declared; and Japan's intervention resulted early in November in the capture of Tsingtau by a combined force of Japanese, British, and Indian troops, and the expulsion of the Germans from Kiao-chau.

### TURKEY

The case of Turkey is very different, and is as involved as that of Japan is simple. It will have been gathered from what has already been said concerning Germany's policy in the Near East that it was much to her interest to 'nurse' Turkey; and for some years previous to 1914 she had very successfully done so. After the outbreak of hostilities the necessity for this policy was all the more insistent; for, not only would her active support be most useful to the Teutonic Allies, but—what was even more important from the Teuton point of view—the Turks would, thought the Germans, be able to induce their co-religionists in India, Egypt, and elsewhere in the British dominions, to break into insurrection and so embarrass Great Britain. The utter inefficacy of this scheme gives, it may be remarked, but one more proof of the failure of the machine-made German diplomacy.

Turkey's pro-German sympathies were strong, but of course she was not going to risk her all solely for the sake of Germany. She had lost much as a result of the Balkan War of 1912-13, and we may be sure she was to receive back her lost territory—especially Salonica. On August 8th she began to mobilize. At the beginning of the war Great Britain and her Allies gave her definite assurances that if she remained neutral her independence and integrity would be respected during the war and in the terms of peace. On August 12th, however, in buying from Germany her cruisers, the *Goeben* and *Breslau* (which had escaped the allied fleets and taken refuge in the Dardanelles), Turkey committed what in the eyes of many authorities was a

## GREAT BRITAIN'S PARTICIPATION

deliberate breach of neutrality. The surprise and uneasiness occasioned by this were increased when it became generally known that since the start of the war Constantinople had been invaded by large numbers of German officers, who had usurped authority and had been able to coerce the ministers of the Porte into taking aggressive action. On September 11th the judicial and financial capitulations were abolished and foreign residents were placed directly under the control of the Turkish authorities instead of under their own embassies as heretofore; but still, beyond an official protest, the Allies did nothing. They had constantly warned the Sultan's Government against the danger in which they were placing the future of the Ottoman empire, but Turkey, seconded as she was by Germany, took no notice, and violations of neutrality grew in number and importance. On October 29th the British Government learnt that Turkish ships of war had, without any declaration of war, without warning, and without provocation of any sort, made wanton attacks upon open and undefended towns in the Black Sea. Next day—again without notice—the Turkish Government shut off telegraphic communication between England and the British Embassy at Constantinople, and these actions—coupled with the very important fact that the British Government knew that a contemplated Turkish raid on Egypt was in a very advanced state of preparation—left her no other course than to declare war on Turkey, which she did on September 5th.

### POSSIBLE ADDITIONS TO THE NATIONS AT WAR

This, then, for the present, completes the catalogue of the nations at war. We say 'for the present' advisedly, for, at the moment of writing (January 1915), it is impossible to say how many other nations may be drawn into the deadly vortex.

Perhaps before these words are in print Italy and Roumania

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

will have joined the Allies ; and it is at least possible that the Balkan League will be renewed, for Bulgaria, though still smarting under the way in which she was used by the Treaty of Bukarest in 1913, has shown very plainly that she has no intention of joining the Teutons.

But these matters are still on the lap of the gods and they are, therefore, not ripe for treatment here.

## CHAPTER IV

### PAN-SLAVISM VERSUS PAN-GERMANISM

*Russia's Part in the Serbian Issue : Strength of the Russian Army : The Distribution of the Slavs : Origin of Pan-Slavism : The Tsar's Proclamation : The Teutons of Europe : Intermingling of Races : The Nations at War*

PAN-SLAVISM against Pan-Germanism was at the back of the issue which was launched when the Emperor of all the Russias took up Serbia's quarrel with Austria-Hungary. Russia, if she wanted a ground for war, could have found no better one. The popularity of her aggressive big-brother attitude to all the Slavs was quickly attested in Petrograd, or St Petersburg as it was then called. It had been a long time since war had appealed with the same fervour to so large a part of the Tsar's people. Slavs there were in plenty to menace the allied German Powers, even if there were not allied French arms, on Germany's other flank, and Britain's naval supremacy to cope with. Slavs in past times had spread over all of Eastern Europe, from the Arctic to the Adriatic and the Ægean Seas. Their continuity was long ago broken into by an intrusion of Magyars, Finns, and Roumanians, leaving a northern Slavic section composed of North Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks, and a southern section comprising the main body of the Balkan people. For over a thousand years these Slavs have peopled Europe east of the Elbe River. And for centuries they kept the hordes of Tartars, Turks, and barbarians from Europe. Russia in those days was called "the nation of the sword." And over a hundred years ago that sword was drawn for Serbia. After 400 years of vassalage to Turkey, the Serbs rebelled in 1804, and then only Russian intervention saved them from defeat. In later wars, notably in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, and in the Russian part in the outbreak of the Great War of 1914, oppression of the Slavs was a prominent issue.

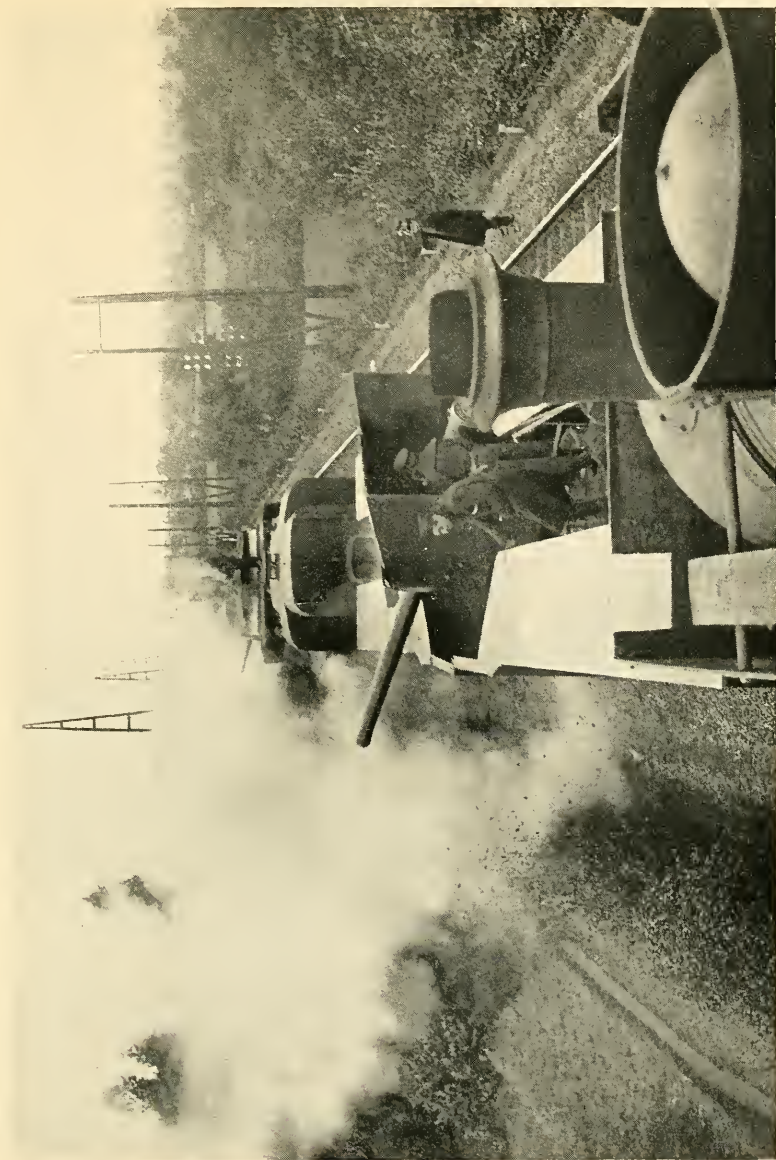


## THE NATIONS AT WAR

### RUSSIA'S PART IN THE SERBIAN ISSUE

What rendered the Russian menace so formidable at the opening of the Great War was the unusual enthusiasm which was displayed. Ordinarily, the huge population of Russia has been rather apathetic toward the purposes of the emperor. But in the case of Austria's injustice to Serbia the Tsar, judging from the demonstrations in St Petersburg, could reasonably count upon having behind him nearly 100,000,000 Slavs among his subjects. Moscow and Odessa gave similar demonstrations of good feeling, and it seemed as if, in the event of the Tsar's assuming command as generalissimo of all the forces, the wave of enthusiasm would sweep over the whole empire. Who knows what is the strength of the Russian bear, once he is roused to active fury? In the ten years following the Russo-Japanese War, Russia had greatly added to her army and navy, and materially cut down the time required for the mobilization of her forces by eliminating many of the difficulties attendant upon the transportation and equipment of troops.

In considering the potential strength of the armies which Russia, in the course of a long war, might put in the field, it may be pointed out that military service in that empire of more than 170,000,000 people is universal and compulsory. Service under the flag begins at the age of twenty and lasts for twenty-three years. Usually it is proportioned as follows: Three or four years in the active army, fourteen or fifteen in the Zapas, or first reserve, and five years in the Opolchénié, or second reserve. For the Cossacks, those fighters who are a conspicuous element of Russia's military strength, there is hardly a cessation in discipline during their early manhood. Holding their lands by military tenure, they are liable to service for life. Furnishing their own equipment and horses—the Cossack is almost invariably a cavalryman—after two years' training in their homes,



AN ARMoured TRAIN IN ACTION AT ANTWERP

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*



## PAN-SLAVISM VERSUS PAN-GERMANISM

they pass through three periods of four years each, with diminishing duties, until they wind up in the reserve, which is liable to be called into the field in time of war.

### STRENGTH OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

Russia's field army consists of three powerful divisions—the army of European Russia, the army of Asia, and the army of the Caucasus. The European Russian field army consists of twenty-seven army corps—each corps comprising, at fighting strength, about 36,000 men—and some twenty-odd cavalry divisions, of 4000 horsemen each. With the field army of the Caucasus, and the first and second reserve divisions of the Cossacks, the total would be brought to nearly 1,600,000 men. With the Asiatic army, the grand total, according to the latest figures, would give the Russian armies a fighting strength of 1,850,000 men, of whom it would be practicable to assemble, say, 1,200,000 in a single theatre of war. With respect to the armies which could be put in the field in time of urgent demand, there are conflicting estimates. It seems certain that Russia's war strength is more than 5,500,000 men, but this figure could be expanded without much difficulty to anything from ten to fifteen millions. Of course transport and the artillery for such a force is lacking.

In the event of a prolonged war, in which the tide of affairs should put Russia strictly on the defensive, she would be less easily subdued than any large country of Europe. The very extent of her empire, protected by natural barriers at almost every side save where she touches North-East Europe, would present almost insuperable difficulties to the invader. Napoleon paid dearly for his rashness in pushing his columns into Moscow. The only conditions under which a repetition of such a feat is conceivable are not likely to be found during a general European struggle.



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

### THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SLAVS

To make matters worse for the Austrian or German invader, there are conflicting relations between their own people and the Russians. The people of the Polish provinces of Austria and Germany, for instance, however unfriendly they may have been toward Russia, as one of the dismemberers of the Polish kingdom, are strongly bound in blood and speech to the Russian nation. The Poles and Russians are brother Slavs, and cannot forget this in a conflict which approaches an issue between Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism, and now that the Tsar has promised to unite the dismembered portions of Poland and to guarantee the Poles the full use of their own language and religion and a large measure of autonomy, the allied Teutons are finding matters worse still. The Poles of East Prussia have an ingrained hatred of their German masters and have been embittered by political oppression to the point of revolt. Those along Austria's eastern border are little less bitter.

The estimate is made that Europe contains in all about 140,000,000 Slavs, this being the most numerous race on the continent, the Teutons ranking second. While the great bulk of these are natives of Russia, they have penetrated in large numbers to the west and south, and are to be found abundantly in the Balkan region, in the Austrian realm, and in the region of the disintegrated kingdom of Poland.

According to recent authoritative statistics the race question in Austria-Hungary is decidedly complicated and diversified. In the kingdoms and provinces represented in the Reichsrath in Vienna there are nearly 10,000,000 Germans and 18,500,000 non-Germans. Of these nearly 17,500,000 are Slavs. Among these Slavs, the Croats and Serbs number 783,000, chiefly in Dalmatia, while there are in all 660,000 Orthodox and nearly 3,500,000 Greek Uniats. In Hungary, with its subject kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, there are 10,050,000 Magyars, 2,037,000 Germans,

## PAN-SLAVISM VERSUS PAN-GERMANISM

and over 10,000,000 other non-Magyars. Of these, 3,000,000 are Roumanians and well over 6,000,000 Slavs. The Croats, or Roman Catholic Serbs, number 1,800,000, and their Orthodox brothers are 1,100,000 in number. All told, Hungary has nearly 11,000,000 Roman Catholic subjects, 2,000,000 Greek Uniats, and 3,000,000 Orthodox. In this connection it should be remembered that the Patriarchate of the Orthodox Serb Church has been fixed at Karlowitz, under Hungarian rule, for over two centuries.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina there are 451,000 Roman Catholic Croats, 856,000 Orthodox Serbs, and over 625,000 Bosniaks, or Moslem Serbs. Thus it will be seen that the Emperor Francis Joseph rules over more than 24,000,000 Slavs and 3,225,000 Roumanians, of whom nearly 4,500,000 adhere to various Orthodox Churches and 5,400,000 are Uniats. Of this Slav mass 5,000,000 Poles, mostly Roman Catholics, are not particularly susceptible to Pan-Slav propaganda, as that is largely Russian and Orthodox.

Within the boundaries of Germany herself there are over 3,000,000 Slavs, chiefly Poles, the Slavs of Polish descent in all being estimated at 15,000,000. To these must be added the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins of the Balkan region, constituting about 7,000,000 more.

### ORIGIN OF PAN-SLAVISM

The term Pan-Slavism has been given to the agitation carried on by a great party in Russia, its final ambition being the union of the Slavic peoples of Europe under Russian rule, as an extensive racial empire. This movement originated about 1830, when the feeling of race relationship in Russia was stirred up by the revolutionary movement in Poland. It gained renewed strength from the Polish revolution of 1863, and still survives as the slogan of an ardent party. The ideals of Pan-Slavism have made their way into the Slavic populations of Bohemia, Silesia, Croatia,

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

and Slavonia, where there is dread of the members of the race losing their individuality under the aggressive action of the Austrian, German, or Hungarian governments. In 1877-78 Russia entered into war against Turkey as the champion of the Balkan Slavs, and her movement of the summer of 1914, when the independence of the Serbian Slavs was threatened by Austria, was prompted by similar motives. The immediate steps taken by Russia to mobilize her forces in protection of the Serbs was followed as immediately by a declaration of war on the part of the German Emperor and the quick precipitation of practically the whole of Europe into the cataclysm.

### THE TSAR'S PROCLAMATION

In this connection the proclamation made by the Russian Tsar to his people on August 3rd possesses much interest, as indicating his Slavic sentiment. The text is as follows: "By the grace of God we, Nicholas II, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Finland, etc., to all our faithful subjects make known that Russia, related by faith and blood to the Slav peoples and faithful to her historical traditions, has never regarded their fates with indifference. The fraternal sentiments of the Russian people for the Slavs have been awakened with perfect unanimity and extraordinary force in these last few days, when Austria-Hungary knowingly addressed to Serbia claims unacceptable for an independent state.

"Having paid no attention to the pacific and conciliatory reply of the Serbian Government and having rejected the benevolent intervention of Russia, Austria made haste to proceed to an armed attack and began to bombard Belgrade, an open place. Forced by the situation thus created to take the necessary measures of precaution, we ordered the army and navy to be put on a war footing, while using every endeavour to obtain a peaceful solution of the pourparlers



## PAN-SLAVISM VERSUS PAN-GERMANISM

begun, for the blood and the property of our subjects are dear to us.

“Amid friendly relations with Germany and her ally, Austria, contrary to our hopes in our good neighbourly relations of long date, and disregarding our assurances that the mobilization measures taken were in pursuance of no object hostile to her, Germany demanded their immediate cessation. Having been rebuffed in this demand, Germany suddenly declared war on Russia.

“To-day it is not only the protection of a country related to us and unjustly attacked that must be accorded, but we must safeguard the honour, the dignity, and the integrity of Russia and her position among the Great Powers.

“We believe unshakably that all our faithful subjects will rise with unanimity and devotion for the defence of Russian soil; that internal discord will be forgotten in this threatening hour; that the unity of the Tsar with his people will become still more close; and that Russia, rising like one man, will repulse the insolent attack of the enemy.

“With a profound faith in the justice of our work and with a humble hope in omnipotent providence in prayer we call God’s blessing on holy Russia and her valiant troops.

“NICHOLAS.”

Barely a fortnight later came the proclamation to the Poles that has already been referred to. It was issued on the 15th of August by the Grand Duke Nicholas, generalissimo of the Russian armies and cousin of the Tsar, in the name of the Tsar himself. It was accompanied by the announcement that a Viceroy of Poland had been arranged for, and runs as follows :

“Poles! The hour has sounded when the sacred dream of your fathers and your grandfathers may be realized. A century and a half has passed since the living body of Poland was torn in pieces, but the soul of the country is not dead. It continues to live, inspired by the hope that there will



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

come for the Polish people an hour of resurrection, and of fraternal reconciliation with Great Russia. The Russian army brings you the solemn news of this reconciliation which obliterates the frontiers dividing the Polish peoples, which it unites conjointly under the sceptre of the Russian Tsar. Under this sceptre Poland will be born again, free in her religion and her language. Russian autonomy only expects from you the same respect for the rights of those nationalities to which history has bound you. With open heart and brotherly hand Great Russia advances to meet you. She believes that the sword, with which she struck down her enemies at Grünwald, is not yet rusted. From the shores of the Pacific to the North Sea the Russian armies are marching. The dawn of a new life is beginning for you, and in this glorious dawn is seen the sign of the Cross, the symbol of suffering and of the resurrection of peoples."

Thus this appeal of the Tsar, which was addressed not only to the Poles of Russia but to those under the banners of Germany and Austria also, reversed at a stroke the long-continued policy of Russia toward this hitherto down-trodden nation. And more than this, it stamped in a way that probably no other action of Russia could have done, her final and irrevocable breaking with Germany and the dual monarchy. For over a century the three empires had had a common bond in their complicity in the partition of Poland. That bond is now burst; it is hardly possible that it can be reunited; and in bursting it the Tsar has initiated a movement that cannot fail to have effects reaching far beyond the new boundaries of Poland, wherever they may be set.

### THE TEUTONS OF EUROPE

While the Slavs form the great bulk of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe, the Teutons, or people of Teutonic race and language, are widely spread in the west and north, including

## PAN-SLAVISM VERSUS PAN-GERMANISM

the German-speaking people of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland, the English-speaking people of the British Islands, the Scandinavian-speaking people of Norway and Sweden, the Flemish-speaking people of Belgium, and practically the whole people of Denmark and Holland. Yet though these are racially related there is no such feeling as a Pan-Teutonic sentiment, combining them into a racial unity. Instead of community and fraternity, a considerable degree of enmity and rivalry exists between the several peoples named, especially between the British and Germans. Pan-Germanism is not Pan-Teutonism in any proper sense, being confined to the several German countries of Europe, and especially to the combination of separate states which constitutes the present German empire. It is the Teuton considered in this minor sense that has set himself against the Slav, as a measure of self-defence against the torrent of Slavism apparently seeking an outlet in all directions.

Prolific as we know the Anglo-Saxons to have once been and as the Germans still appear to be, there are few instances in human history of a natural growth of population like that of the Slavs in recent years. They have grown to outnumber the Germans nearly three to one, and may perhaps do so in the future in a still greater proportion.

This may not be altogether a desirable state of affairs in view of the fact that the Slavs as a whole are lower and more primitive in character and condition than the Germans. The cultivated portion of Slavic populations forms a very small proportion of the whole, and stands far in advance of the abundant multitude of peasants and artisans, a vast body of people who are ruled chiefly by fear; fear of the State on one side, of the Church on the other.

### INTERMINGLING OF RACES

There has long been an embittered, remorseless, and often bloody struggle for supremacy between the Teuton and the

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

Slav, yet there has been considerable intermingling of the races, many German traders making their way into Russian towns, while multitudes of Slavic labourers have penetrated into German communities. Eastern Prussia has large populations of Slavs, and its Polish subjects in Posen have been persistently non-assimilable. But only within recent times has there arisen a passion to 'Russianize' all foreign elements in the one nation and on the other hand to 'Germanize' all similar foreign elements in the other. Austria-Hungary is the most remarkable combination of unrelated peoples ever got together to form a state, and is especially notable for its many separate groups of Slavs. Bohemia, for instance, has a very large majority of Slavic population, eager to be recognized as such, and there are Slavic populations somewhat indiscriminately scattered throughout the dual monarchy, especially in Hungary. These Slavic populations, however, differ widely in religious belief. While largely of the Greek confession of faith, a considerable section of them are Roman Catholics, and many are faithful Mohammedans. This difference in religion plays a major part in their political relations, a greater one than any feeling of nationality and racial unity, and aids greatly in adding to the diversity of condition and sentiment among these mixed populations.

### THE NATIONS AT WAR

In the war which sprang so suddenly and startlingly into the field of events in 1914 very little of this sentiment of race animosity appeared. While the German element remained intact in the union of Germany and Austria, there was a strange mingling of races in the other side of the struggle, that of the Slavic Russian, the Teutonic Britain, and the Celtic French. As for Italy, the non-Germanic member of the Triple Alliance, it declared that the war was one in which it was in no sense concerned and under no

## PAN-SLAVISM VERSUS PAN-GERMANISM

obligation to enter into from the terms of its alliance. Later events tended to bring it into sympathy with the non-Germanic side, as a result of enmity to Austria. So the conflict became narrowed down to a struggle between Pan-Germanism on the one hand and a variety of thinly related elements on the other. It may be that the Emperor William had a secret purpose to unite, if possible, all German-speaking peoples under his single sway and that Tsar Nicholas had similar views regarding a union of the Slavs, but the official papers that each has given to the world divulge nothing on these points, and it is difficult to say what secret plans and ambitions lay hidden in their minds. In this connection it is certainly of interest that three of the leaders in this great conflict were near relatives, the Tsar, the Kaiser, and George V being cousins, and all of Teutonic blood.



## CHAPTER V

### EUROPE AT CLOSE OF XVIII CENTURY

END OF MEDIÆVALISM AND BEGINNING OF MODERNISM

*The Age of Feudalism : Issues of the French Revolution : How Napoleon won Fame : Conditions in France and Germany : Austria and Italy : Spain and Poland : Russia and Turkey*

WHEN, after a weary climb, we find ourselves on the summit of a lofty mountain, and look back from that commanding altitude over the ground we have traversed, what is it that we behold ? The minor details of the scenery, many of which seemed large and important to us as we passed, are now lost to view, and we see only the great and imposing features of the landscape, the high elevations, the town-studded valleys, the deep and winding streams, the broad forests. It is the same when, from the summit of an age, we gaze backward over the plain of time. The myriad of petty happenings are lost to sight, and we see only the striking events, the critical epochs, the mighty crises through which the world has passed. These are the things that make true history, not the daily doings in the king's palace or the peasant's hut. What we should seek to observe and store up in our memories are the turning-points in human events, the great thoughts which have ripened into noble deeds, the hands of might which have pushed the world forward in its career ; not the trifling occurrences which signify nothing, the passing actions which have borne no fruit in human affairs. It is with such turning-points, such critical periods in modern history, that here we are to deal ; not to picture the passing bubbles on the stream of time, but to point out the great ships which have sailed up that stream laden with a noble freight. This is history in its deepest and best aspect, and we have set our camera to photograph only the men who have made and the events which constitute history in the way here outlined.

# EUROPE AT CLOSE OF XVIII CENTURY

## THE AGE OF FEUDALISM

The Mediæval Age was the age of feudalism, that remarkable system of government based on military organization, by means of which Western Europe was ruled for centuries. The state was an army, the king its commander-in-chief, the nobility its captains and generals, the people its rank and file. As for the horde of labourers, they were hardly considered at all. In most countries they were merely the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the armed and fighting class, a base, down-trodden, enslaved multitude, destitute of rights and privileges, their only mission in the world to provide food for, and pay taxes to, their masters.

France, the country in which the feudal system had its birth, was the country in which it had the longest lease of life. There it came down to the verge of the nineteenth century with little relief from its terrible exactions. We see before us in that country the spectacle of a people steeped in misery, crushed by tyranny, robbed of all political rights, and without a voice to make their sufferings known; and of an aristocracy lapped in luxury, proud, vain, insolent, lavish with the people's money, ruthless with the people's blood, and blind to the spectre of retribution which was rising higher year by year before their eyes.

## ISSUES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

This era of injustice and oppression reached its climax in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and went down at length in that hideous nightmare of blood and terror known as the French Revolution. Frightful as this was, it was unavoidable. The pride and privilege of the aristocracy had the people by the throat, and only the sword or the guillotine could loosen their hold.

It was the need of money for the spendthrift throne that precipitated the Revolution. For years the indignation of the people had been growing and spreading; for years the

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

authors of the nation had been adding fuel to the flame. The voices of Voltaire, Rousseau, and a dozen others had been heard in advocacy of the rights of man, and the people were growing daily more restive under their load. But still the lavish waste of money wrung from the hunger and sweat of the people went on, until the king and his advisers found their coffers empty and were without hope of filling them without a direct appeal to the nation at large. It was in 1788 that the fatal step was taken. Louis XVI, King of France, called a session of the States-General, the parliament of the kingdom, which had not met for more than a hundred years. This body was composed of three classes, the representatives of the nobility, of the church, and of the people. In all earlier instances they had been docile to the mandate of the throne, and the monarch, blind to the signs of the times, had no thought but that this assembly would vote him the money he asked for, fix by law a system of taxation for his future supply, and dissolve at his command.

He was ignorant of the temper of the common people. They had gained a voice at last, and were sure to take the opportunity to speak their mind. Their representatives, known as the Third Estate, were made up of bold, earnest, indignant men, who asked for bread and were not to be put off with a stone. They were twice as numerous as the representatives of the nobles and the clergy, and thus held control of the situation. They were ready to support the throne, but refused to vote a penny until the crying evils of the state were reformed. They broke loose from the other two Estates, established in 1789 a separate parliament under the name of the National Assembly, and began that career of revolution which did not cease until it had brought monarchy to an end in France and set all Europe aflame.

The Revolution grew, month by month and day by day. New and more radical laws were passed; moss-grown





**ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELICOE**

*Photo Russell and Sons, Southsea*



**GENERAL JOFFRE**

*Photo Record Press*





## EUROPE AT CLOSE OF XVIII CENTURY

abuses were swept away in an hour's sitting ; the king, who sought to escape, was seized and held as a hostage ; and war was boldly declared against Austria and Prussia, which showed a disposition to interfere. In November, 1792, the French army gained a brilliant victory at Jemmapes, in Belgium, which eventually led to the conquest of that kingdom by France. It was the first important event in the career of victory which in the coming years was to make France glorious in the annals of war.

The hostility of the surrounding nations added to the revolutionary fury in France. Armies were marching to the rescue of the king, and the unfortunate monarch was seized, reviled, and insulted by the mob, and incarcerated in the prison called the Temple. The queen, Marie Antoinette, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, was likewise haled from the palace to the prison. In the following year, 1793, king and queen alike were taken to the guillotine and their royal heads fell into the fatal basket. The Revolution was consummated, the monarchy was at an end, France had fallen into the hands of the people, and from them it descended into the hands of a ruthless and blood-thirsty mob. Meanwhile a foreign war was being waged. England had formed a coalition with most of the nations of Europe, and France was threatened by land with the troops of Holland, Prussia, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, and by sea with the fleet of Great Britain. The incompetency of her assailants saved her from destruction. Her generals who lost battles were sent to prison or to the guillotine, the whole country rose as one man in defence, and a number of brilliant victories drove her enemies from her borders and gave the armies of France a position beyond the Rhine.

### HOW NAPOLEON WON FAME

These wars soon brought a great man to the front, Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, whose career as a man of

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

recognized ability began in 1795, when, under the orders of the National Convention—the successor of the National Assembly—he quelled the mob in the streets of Paris with loaded cannon and put a final end to the Terror which had so long prevailed.

Placed at the head of the French army in Italy, Napoleon quickly astonished the world by a series of the most brilliant victories, defeating the Austrians and the Sardinians wherever he met them, seizing Venice, the city of the lagoon, and forcing almost all Italy to submit to his arms. A republic was established here and a new one in Switzerland, while Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were held by France.

His wars here at an end, Napoleon's ambition led him to Egypt, inspired by great designs which he failed to realize. In his absence anarchy arose in France. The five Directors, then at the head of the government, had lost all authority, and Napoleon, who had unexpectedly returned, did not hesitate to overthrow them and the Assembly which supported them. A new government, with three Consuls at its head, was formed, Napoleon, as First Consul, holding almost royal power. Thus France stood in 1800, at the end of the eighteenth century.

### CONDITIONS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

In the remainder of Europe there was nothing to compare with the momentous convulsion which had taken place in France. England had gone through its two revolutions more than a century before, and its people were the freest of any in Europe. Recently it had lost its colonies in America, but it still held in that continent the broad domain of Canada, and was building for itself a new empire in India, while founding colonies in twenty other lands. In commerce and manufactures it entered the nineteenth century as the greatest nation on the earth. The hammer and the loom

## EUROPE AT CLOSE OF XVIII CENTURY

resounded from end to end of the island, mighty centres of industry arose where cattle had grazed a century before, coal and iron were being torn in great quantities from the depths of the earth, and there seemed everywhere an endless bustle and whirr. The ships of England haunted all the seas and visited the most remote ports, laden with the products of her workshops and bringing back raw material for her factories and looms. Wealth accumulated, London became the money market of the world, and the riches and prosperity of the island kingdom were growing to be a parable among the nations of the earth.

On the continent of Europe, Prussia, destined in time to become great, had recently emerged from its mediæval feebleness, mainly under the powerful hand of Frederick the Great, whose reign extended until 1786, and whose ambition, daring, and military genius made him a fitting predecessor of Napoleon the Great, who so soon succeeded him in the annals of war. Unscrupulous in his aims, this warrior king had torn Silesia from Austria, added to his kingdom a portion of unfortunate Poland, annexed the principality of East Friesland, and lifted Prussia into a leading position among the European states.

Germany, now—with the exception of Austria—a compact empire, was then a series of disconnected states, variously known as kingdoms, principalities, margravates, electorates, and by other titles, the whole forming the so-called Holy Empire, though it was “neither holy nor an empire.” It had drifted down in this fashion from the Middle Ages, and the work of consolidation had but just begun, in the conquests of Frederick the Great. A host of petty potentates ruled the land, whose states, apart from Prussia and Austria, were too weak to have a voice in the councils of Europe.

Joseph II, the titular Emperor of Germany, made an earnest and vigorous effort to combine its elements into a powerful



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

unit ; but he signally failed, and died in 1790, a disappointed and embittered man.

### AUSTRIA AND ITALY

Austria, then by far the most powerful of the German states, was from 1740 to 1780 under the reign of a woman, Maria Theresa, who struggled in vain against her ambitious neighbour, Frederick the Great, his kingdom being extended ruthlessly at the expense of her imperial dominions. Austria remained a great country, however, including Bohemia and Hungary among its domains. It was lord of Lombardy and Venice in Italy, and was destined to play an important but unfortunate part in the coming Napoleonic wars.

The peninsula of Italy, the central seat of the great Roman empire, was, at the opening of the nineteenth century, as sadly broken up as Germany, a dozen weak states taking the place of the one strong one that the good of the people demanded. The independent cities of the mediæval period no longer held sway, and we hear no more of wars between Florence, Genoa, Milan, Pisa, and Rome; but the country was still made up of minor states—Lombardy, Venice, and Sardinia in the north, Naples in the south, Rome in the centre, and various smaller kingdoms and dukedoms between. The peninsula was a prey to turmoil and dissension. Germany and France had made it their fighting ground for centuries, Spain had filled the south with her armies, and the country had been miserably torn and rent by these frequent wars and those between state and state, and was in a condition to welcome the coming of Napoleon, whose strong hand for the time promised the blessing of peace and union.

### SPAIN AND POLAND

Spain, not many centuries before the greatest nation in Europe, and, as such, the greatest nation on the globe, had

## EUROPE AT CLOSE OF XVIII CENTURY

miserably declined in power and place at the opening of the nineteenth century. Under the Emperor Charles V it had been united with Germany, while its colonies embraced two-thirds of the great continent of America. Under Philip II it continued powerful in Europe, but with his death its decay set in. Intolerance checked its growth in civilization, the gold brought from America was swept away by more enterprising states, its strength was sapped by a succession of feeble monarchs, and from first place it fell into a low rank among the nations of Europe. It still held its vast colonial dominions, but this proved a source of weakness rather than of strength, and the people of the colonies, exasperated by injustice and oppression, were ready for the general revolt which was soon to take place. Spain presented the aspect of a great nation ruined by its innate vices, impoverished by official venality and the decline of industry, and fallen into the dry-rot of advancing decay.

Of the nations of Europe which had once played a prominent part, one was on the point of being swept from the map. The name of Poland, which formerly stood for a great power, until lately stood only for a great crime. The misrule of the kings, the turbulence of the nobility, and the enslavement of the people had brought that state into such a condition of decay that it lay like a rotten log amid the Powers of Europe.

The ambitious nations surrounding—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—took advantage of its weakness, and in 1772 each of them seized the portion of Poland that bordered on its own territories. In the remainder of the kingdom the influence of Russia grew so great that the Russian ambassador at Warsaw became the real ruler in Poland. A struggle against Russia began in 1792, Kosciusko, a brave soldier who had fought under Washington in America, being at the head of the patriots. But the weakness of the king tied the hands of the soldiers, the Polish patriots left

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

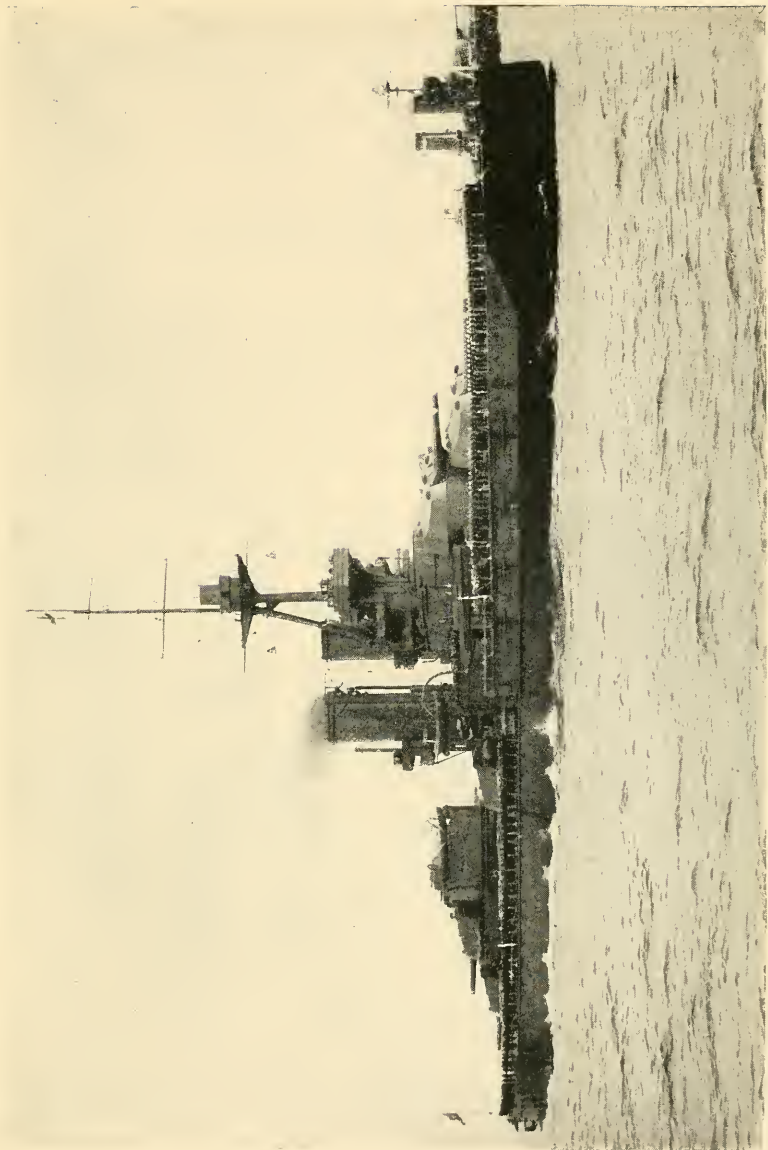
their native land in despair, and in the following year there was a further division of the state, Russia seizing a broad territory, 96,000 square miles in area, with more than 3,000,000 inhabitants, Prussia 22,500 square miles, with a population of 1,100,000, and Austria Cracow with much of the surrounding country.

In 1794 a new outbreak began. The patriots returned and a desperate struggle took place. But Poland was doomed. Suvaroff, the greatest of the Russian generals, swept the land with fire and sword. Kosciusko fell wounded, crying, "Poland's end has come," and Warsaw was taken and desolated by its assailants. The patriot was right; the end had come. What remained of Poland was divided up between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and, until the Tsar's manifesto of August 15th, 1914, only a name remained.

### RUSSIA AND TURKEY

There are two others of the Powers of Europe of which we must speak, Russia and Turkey. Until the seventeenth century Russia had been a domain of barbarians, weak and disunited, and for a long period the vassal of the savage Mongol conquerors of Asia. Under Peter the Great (1689-1725) it rose into power and prominence, took its place among civilized states, and began that career of conquest and expansion which is still going on. At the end of the eighteenth century it was under the rule of Catherine II, often miscalled Catherine the Great, who died in 1796, just as Napoleon was beginning his career. Her greatness lay in the ability of her generals, who defeated Turkey and conquered the Crimea, and who added the greater part of Poland to her empire. Her strength of mind and decision of character were not shared by her successor, Paul I, and Russia entered the nineteenth century under the weakest sovereign of the Romanoff line.

Turkey, once the terror of Europe, sending its armies into



H.M.S. "IRON DUKE," FLAGSHIP OF THE NORTH SEA FLEET

*Photo Underwood and Underwood, London*





## EUROPE AT CLOSE OF XVIII CENTURY

the heart of Austria, was now confined within the boundaries it had won long before, and had begun its long struggle for existence with its powerful neighbour Russia. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still a powerful state, with a wide domain in Europe, and continued to defy the Christians who coveted its territory and sought its overthrow. But the canker-worm of a weak and barbarous government was at its heart, while the cruel treatment of its Christian subjects exasperated the Powers of Europe and invited their armed interference.

As regards the world outside of Europe and America, no part of it had yet entered the circle of modern civilization. Africa was an almost unknown continent; Asia was little better known; and the islands of the Eastern seas were still in process of discovery. Japan, which was approaching its period of manumission from barbarism, was still closed to the world, and China lay like a huge and helpless bulk, fast in the fetters of conservatism and blind self-sufficiency.

CHAPTER VI  
THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM  
ITS EFFECT ON NATIONAL CONDITIONS FINALLY  
LED TO THE WAR OF 1914

*The Campaign in Italy : The Victory at Marengo :  
Moreau wins Glory at Hohenlinden : Napoleon the  
Idol of France : The Consul made Emperor : The  
Code Napoléon : Campaign of 1805 : Battle of  
Austerlitz : The Gains of the Empire : The Con-  
quest of Prussia : Invasion of Poland : The Check  
at Eylau : Campaign of 1809 : Great Battles around  
Vienna : Victory at Wagram : The Divorce of  
Josephine*

THE first fifteen years of the nineteenth century in Europe yield us the history of a man rather than of a continent. France was the centre of Europe ; Napoleon, the Corsican, was the centre of France. All the affairs of all the nations seemed to gather around this genius of war. He was respected, feared, hated ; he had risen with the suddenness of a thunder-cloud on a clear horizon, and flashed the lightnings of victory in the dazzled eyes of the nations. All the events of the period were concentrated into one great event, and the name of that event was Napoleon. He seemed incarnate war, organised destruction ; sword in hand, he dominated the nations, and victory sat on his banners with folded wings. He was, in a full sense, the man of destiny, and Europe was his prey.

Never has there been a more wonderful career. The earlier great conquerors began life at the top ; Napoleon began his at the bottom. Alexander was the son of a king ; Cæsar was an aristocrat of the Roman republic ; Napoleon rose from the people, and was not even a native of the land which became the scene of his exploits. Pure force of military genius lifted him to the highest place among mankind, and for long and terrible years Europe shuddered at

## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

his name and trembled beneath the tread of his marching legions. As for France, he brought her glory, and left her ruin and dismay.

We have briefly epitomized Napoleon's early career, his doings in the Revolution, in Italy, and in Egypt, to the time that France's worship of his military genius raised him to the rank of First Consul, and gave him in effect the power of a king. No one dared question his word, the army was at his beck and call, the nation lay prostrate at his feet—not in fear but in admiration. Such was the state of affairs in France in the closing year of the eighteenth century. The Revolution was at an end; the Republic existed only as a name; Napoleon was the autocrat of France and the terror of Europe. From this point we resume the story of his career.

The First Consul began his reign with two enemies in the field, England and Austria. Prussia was neutral, and he had won the friendship of Paul, the Emperor of Russia, by a shrewd move. While the other nations refused to exchange the Russian prisoners they held, Napoleon sent home 6000 of these captives, newly clad and armed, under their own leaders, and without demanding ransom. This was enough to win to his side the weak-minded Paul, whose delight in soldiers he well knew.

Napoleon wrote letters to these two enemies, the King of England and the Emperor of Austria, offering peace. The answers were cold and insulting, asking France to take back her Bourbon kings and return to her old boundaries. Nothing remained but war. Napoleon prepared for it with his usual rapidity, secrecy, and keenness of judgment.

### THE CAMPAIGN IN ITALY

There were two French armies in the field in the spring of 1800, Moreau commanding in Germany, Masséna in Italy. Switzerland, which was occupied by the French, divided



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

the armies of the enemy, and Napoleon determined to take advantage of the separation of their forces, and strike an overwhelming blow. He sent word to Moreau and Masséna to keep the enemy in check at any cost, and secretly gathered a third army, whose corps were dispersed here and there, while the Powers of Europe were aware only of the army of reserve at Dijon, made up of conscripts and invalids.

Meanwhile the armies in Italy and Germany were doing their best to obey orders. Masséna was attacked by the Austrians before he could concentrate his troops, his army was cut in two, and he was forced to fall back upon Genoa, in which city he was closely besieged, with a fair prospect of being conquered by starvation if not soon relieved. Moreau was more fortunate. He defeated the Austrians in a series of battles and drove them back on Ulm, where he blockaded them in their camp. All was ready for the great movement which Napoleon had in view.

Twenty centuries before Hannibal had led his army across the great mountain barrier of the Alps, and poured down like an avalanche upon the fertile plains of Italy. The Corsican determined to repeat this brilliant achievement and emulate Hannibal's career. Several passes across the mountains seemed favourable to his purpose, especially those of the St Bernard, the Simplon, and Mont Cenis. Of these the first was the most difficult; but it was much the shorter, and Napoleon determined to lead the main body of his army over this ice-covered mountain pass, despite its dangers and difficulties. The enterprise was one to deter any man less bold than Hannibal or Napoleon, but it was 'all in the day's work' to the hardihood and daring of these men, who rejoiced in the seemingly impossible and scorned faltering at hardships and perils.

The task of the Corsican was greater than that of the Carthaginian. He had cannon to transport, while Hannibal's men carried only swords and spears. But the genius of

## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

Napoleon was equal to the task. The cannon were taken from their carriages and placed in the hollowed-out trunks of trees, which could be dragged with ropes over the ice and snow. Mules were used to draw the gun-carriages and the wagon-loads of food and munitions of war. Stores of provisions were placed at suitable points along the road.

The sudden appearance of Napoleon in Italy was an utter surprise to the Austrians. The French descended like a torrent into the valley, seized Ivrea, and five days after reaching Italy met and repulsed an Austrian force. The divisions which had crossed by other passes one by one joined Napoleon. Melas, the Austrian commander, was warned of the danger that impended, but refused to credit the seemingly preposterous story. His men were scattered, some besieging Masséna in Genoa, some attacking Suchet on the Var. His danger was imminent, for Napoleon, leaving Masséna to starve in Genoa, had formed the design of annihilating the Austrian army at one tremendous blow.

The people of Lombardy, weary of the Austrian yoke, and hoping for liberty under the rule of France, received the new-comers with joy, and lent them what aid they could. On June 9th Marshal Lannes met and defeated the Austrians at Montebello, after a hot engagement. "I heard the bones crackle like a hailstorm on the roofs," he said. On the 14th, the two armies met on the plain of Marengo, and one of the most famous of Napoleon's battles began.

### THE VICTORY AT MARENGO

Napoleon was not ready for the coming battle, and was taken by surprise. He had been obliged to break up his army in order to guard all the passages open to the enemy. When he entered, on the 13th, the plain between the Scrivia and the Bormida, near the little village of Marengo, he was ignorant of the movements of the Austrians, and was not expecting the onset of Melas, who, on the following morning,

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

crossed the Bormida by three bridges, and made a fierce assault upon the divisions of Generals Victor and Lannes. Victor was vigorously attacked and driven back, and Marengo was destroyed by the Austrian cannon. Lannes was surrounded by overwhelming numbers, and, fighting furiously, was forced to retreat. In the heat of the battle Bonaparte reached the field with his guard and his staff, and found himself in the thick of the terrific affray and his army virtually beaten.

The retreat continued. It was impossible to check it. The enemy pressed enthusiastically forward. The army was in imminent danger of being cut in two. But Napoleon, with obstinate persistence, kept up the fight, hoping for some change in the perilous situation. Melas, on the contrary—an old man, weary of his labours, and confident in the seeming victory—withdrew to his headquarters at Alessandria, whence he sent off despatches to the effect that the terrible Corsican had at length met defeat.

He did not know his man. Napoleon sent an aide-de-camp in all haste after Desaix, one of his most trusted generals who had just returned from Egypt, and whose corps he had detached toward Novi. All depended upon his rapid return. Without Desaix the battle was lost. Fortunately the alert general did not wait for the messenger. His ears caught the sound of distant cannon and, scenting danger, he marched back with the utmost speed.

Napoleon met his welcome officer with eyes of joy and hope. "You see the situation," he said, rapidly explaining the state of affairs. "What is to be done?"

"It is a lost battle," Desaix replied. "But there are some hours of daylight yet. We have time to win another."

While he talked with the commander, his regiments had hastily formed, and now presented a threatening front to the Austrians. Their presence gave new spirit to the retreating troops.



## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

“Soldiers and friends,” cried Napoleon to them, “remember that it is my custom to sleep upon the field of battle.”

Back upon their foes turned the retreating troops, with new animation, and checked the victorious Austrians. Desaix hurried to his men and placed himself at their head.

“Go and tell the First Consul that I am about to charge,” he said to an aide-de-camp. “I need to be supported by artillery.”

A few minutes afterward, as he was leading his troops irresistibly forward, a ball struck him in the breast, inflicting a mortal wound. “I have been too long making war in Africa; the bullets of Europe know me no more,” he sadly said. “Conceal my death from the men; it might rob them of spirit.”

The soldiers had seen him fall, but, instead of being dispirited, they were filled with rage, and rushed forward furiously to avenge their beloved leader. At the same time Kellermann arrived with his dragoons, impetuously hurled them upon the Austrian cavalry, broke through their columns, and fell upon the grenadiers who were wavering before the troops of Desaix. It was a death-stroke. The cavalry and infantry together swept them back in a disorderly retreat. One whole corps, hopeless of escape, threw down its arms and surrendered. The late victorious army was everywhere in retreat. The Austrians were crowded back upon the Bormida, here blocking the bridges, there flinging themselves into the stream, on all sides flying from the victorious French. The cannon stuck in the muddy stream and were left to the victors. When Melas, apprised of the sudden change in the aspect of affairs, hurried back in dismay to the field, the battle was irretrievably lost, and General Zach, his representative in command, was a prisoner in the hands of the French. The field was strewn with thousands of the dead. The slain Desaix and the living Kellermann had turned the Austrian victory into defeat and saved Napoleon.



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

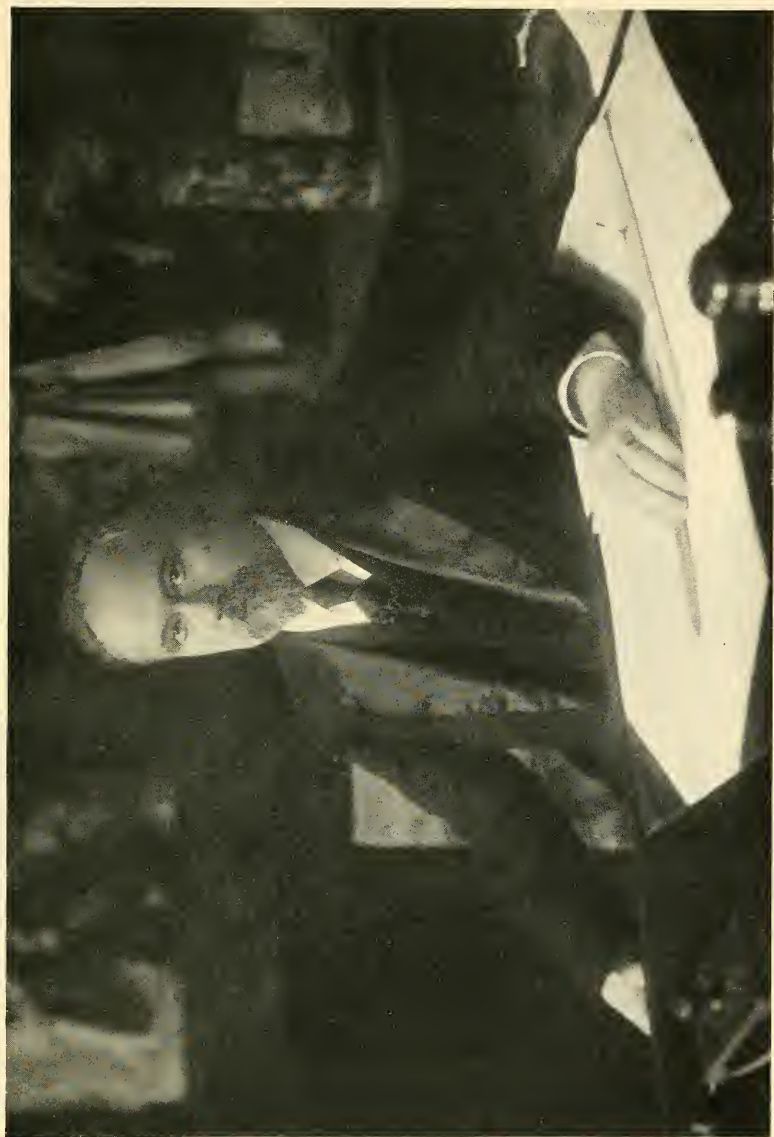
A few days afterward, on the 19th, Moreau in Germany won a brilliant victory at Hochstadt, near Blenheim, took 5000 prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon, and forced from the Austrians an armed truce which left him master of South Germany. A still more momentous armistice was signed by Melas in Italy, by which the Austrians surrendered Piedmont, Lombardy, and all their territory as far as the Mincio, leaving France master of Italy. Melas protested against these severe terms, but Napoleon was immovable.

“I did not begin to make war yesterday,” he said. “I know your situation. You are out of provisions, encumbered with the dead, wounded, and sick, and surrounded on all sides. I could exact everything. I ask only what the situation of affairs demands. I have no other terms to offer.”

During the night of the 2nd and 3rd of July, Napoleon re-entered Paris, which he had left less than two months before. Brilliant ovations met him on his route, and as he came crowned with glory gained on the field of battle, all France would have prostrated itself at his feet had he permitted.

### MOREAU WINS GLORY AT HOHENLINDEN

Five months afterward, Austria having refused to make peace without the concurrence of England, and the truce being at an end, another famous victory was added to the list of those which were being inscribed upon the annals of France. On the 3rd of December the veterans under Moreau met an Austrian army under the Archduke John, on the plain of Hohenlinden, across which ran the small river Isar. The Austrians marched through the forest of Hohenlinden, looking for no resistance, and unaware that Moreau's army awaited their exit. As they left the shelter of the trees and debouched upon the plain, they were attacked by the French in force. Two divisions had been despatched to take them in the rear, and Moreau held back his men to give



PRESIDENT POINCARÉ  
*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*



## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

them the necessary time. The snow was falling in great flakes, yet through it his keen eyes saw some signs of confusion in the hostile ranks.

“Richepanse has struck them in the rear,” he said, “the time has come to charge.”

Ney rushed forward at the head of his troops, driving the enemy in confusion before him. The centre of the Austrian army was hemmed in between the two forces. Decaen had struck their left wing in the rear and forced it back upon the Inn. Their right was driven into the valley. The day was lost to the Austrians, whose killed and wounded numbered 8000, while the French had taken 12,000 prisoners and eighty-seven pieces of cannon.

The victorious French advanced, sweeping back all opposition, until Vienna, the Austrian capital, lay before them, only a few leagues away. His staff officers urged Moreau to take possession of the city.

“That would be a fine thing to do, no doubt,” he said; “but to my fancy to dictate terms of peace will be a finer thing still.”

The Austrians were ready for peace at any price. On Christmas Day, 1800, was signed the armistice of Steyer, which delivered to the French the valley of the Danube, the country of the Tyrol, a number of fortresses, and immense magazines of war materials. The war continued in Italy till the end of December, when a truce was signed there and the conflict was at an end.

### NAPOLEON THE IDOL OF FRANCE

The events which immediately followed may be briefly summarized. Napoleon's brilliant victories had won him a leading position in France and made him at once the terror of Europe and the admiration of the world. Among the excitable and glory-loving people of France he was fairly worshipped. His word was law, his rank that of a general



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

and consul, his position that of an emperor and autocrat. He had but to speak and the whole nation was ready and eager to obey. The nineteenth century dawned, leaving France at peace with all the countries of Europe except Great Britain, a treaty of peace being concluded with Austria at Lunéville in February, 1801.

So far as Great Britain was concerned the war that still existed with the Republic had to do solely with the troops which Napoleon had left in Egypt on his hasty return from that country. England was in complete command of the sea, and these troops, some of which were all that was left of the force with which Bonaparte had won his early victories in Italy, were caught in a trap. In February, 1800, however, Sir Sidney Smith, who was in command of the British and Turkish forces, agreed to grant the French a free passage home; but the British Government had previously been made aware of the sore straits to which the French were reduced and had already sent orders that the whole of their forces were to surrender as prisoners of war. Sir Sidney was obliged to inform the French general that he had exceeded his powers, and the struggle went on, at first with some success on the part of the French against the Turks. Early in March, 1801, the British were reinforced by Sir Ralph Abercromby, and within a fortnight completely defeated the French at Alexandria. In June they surrounded the rest of the enemy's forces in Cairo, but as they had no siege guns they again offered the French Sir Sidney Smith's original terms, and the garrison capitulated on the condition that it should be sent back to France in safety. The army in Alexandria was now attacked, and by the end of August it was defeated, their flotilla destroyed, and the last stronghold of the French in Egypt taken. On March 27, 1802, the treaty of Amiens was signed, establishing peace between England and France, and for the first time for many years France was free from war.

# THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

## A PERIOD OF PEACE

The days of leisure which now came to the First Consul—the rank at this time held by Napoleon—were by no means days of idleness. His mind throbbed with new ideas and new purposes. There were relics of the insensate fury of the Revolution that needed to be removed, and to these he first applied himself. One of the earliest things he did was to restore the Christian worship in the churches of France, abolishing the Republican festivals which had replaced Christianity with paganism.

But he did not propose to share his authority with the Pope—to allow another kingship to clash with his own. He insisted that the Church should yield its old-time supremacy, and become a servant of, instead of an autocrat over, the French state. Another step was to have his term of office extended from ten years, as originally fixed, to life. He established himself in the Tuileries, where he began to restore the old court customs and etiquette abolished by the Revolution, and made an effort to re-establish the customs and usages of the monarchy. The royal customs and elegance established made the First Consul's court resemble that of the deposed monarchy. In truth he had made himself king in everything but in name. However, the new liberties and privileges which the people had won by the Revolution were not interfered with. With these the plebeian who had made himself monarch was in full sympathy. Feudalism had been definitely overthrown, and Napoleon's supremacy in the state at that time was benevolent and recognized popular freedom.

## THE CONSUL MADE EMPEROR

He was not without enemies—bitter ones, many of them. There were among the old Republicans many shrewd enough to see that the republic they had founded was being undermined by this new popular favourite. Plots were formed,

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attempts made upon his life, and even Moreau, the victor at Hohenlinden, was accused of being in collusion with the conspirators and was banished from France. Napoleon fought them with a ruthlessness equal to their own. The Duke d'Enghien, a royalist French nobleman, believed by Napoleon to be deeply concerned in the royalist conspiracies, ventured too near the borders of France and was seized and taken to Paris by agents of the First Consul. Here, without form of law or opportunity for defence, he was at once executed. This was an act of lawless power which excited more indignation than anything in Napoleon's career, and one which historians of the present day do not hesitate to characterize as murder.

The culmination of Napoleon's ambition came in 1804, when, like Cæsar, the Roman conqueror, he sought the crown as a reward for his victories, and was elected Emperor of the French by an almost unanimous vote. The Pope was obliged to come to Paris at the fiat of the new autocrat and to anoint him as emperor, thus giving the sanction of the Church to his new dignity.

The old insignia of royalty were at once restored, the emperor surrounded himself with a brilliant court, brought back the discarded titles of nobility, and sought to banish every trace of republican simplicity. But the new royalty was not of the old type. Feudalism was definitely at an end. The world of Europe entered upon its nineteenth-century career with the system that had outlived its day banished from France and with few footholds elsewhere. The new empire was founded upon modern lines, called into existence by the votes of a free people, not resting upon a nation of slaves.

### THE CODE NAPOLÉON

During his brief respite from war Napoleon's activity was great, his statesmanship notable. Great public works,





I. OFFICERS INSPECTING A GERMAN TRENCH

*Photo Alfieri*

II. BOMB-PROOF SHELTER

*Photo Record Press*





## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

monuments to his glory, were constructed, wide schemes of public improvement were entered upon, and important changes were made in the financial system that provided the great sums needed for these enterprises. The most important of these evidences of intellectual activity was the *Code Napoléon*, the first organized code of French law and still the basis of jurisprudence in France. This, first promulgated in 1801 as the civil code of France, had its title changed to *Code Napoléon* in 1804, and as such stands as one of the greatest monuments to the mental capacity of this extraordinary man.

The period of peace ended in 1803, when war again broke out, this time only between France and Great Britain in the first instance, the chief causes being alarm on the part of Great Britain at a threatened invasion of Egypt and also at Napoleon's violation of the Peace of Amiens in annexing Piedmont; while Napoleon seized on Great Britain's retention of Malta as a *casus belli*.

Little took place for a year; but at about the same time that Napoleon became emperor, Pitt returned to office as Prime Minister in England and soon organized a coalition with Russia, Austria, and some of the minor states against the arch-enemy. Napoleon, meanwhile, who for years had been irritated by the inviolability of the white cliffs of Albion, thought his time had come. By an astute move he lured the British fleet away from her shores; a great fleet was gathered, and a powerful army got ready, the army numbering 120,000 men with 10,000 horses, the fleet 1800 transports and warships of various types. It was a threatening enterprise and might have been successful under such a leader as Napoleon, but for the vigilance of Nelson and the shrewd policy of William Pitt, whose European coalition gave the emperor a new use for his army.

# THE NATIONS AT WAR

## CAMPAIGN OF 1805

The Austrians, who had been so often defeated, were again quickly in the field, but they were not quick enough for the alert Napoleon, whose troops were at once set in motion from all quarters toward the Rhine. Early in October, 1805, the French held both banks of the Danube, and were handled so skilfully that the Austrian army under General Mack, an incapable commander, was surrounded in the fortress of Ulm and forced to surrender as prisoners of war; 25,000 soldiers and eighteen generals were held as captives by the victorious French. Another army, sent to Italy, was met and defeated by Marshal Masséna.

Meanwhile the King of Prussia had joined the fray. Napoleon had gone to all lengths to obtain him as an ally, had even offered him the gift of Hanover; but it was to no purpose, for all that Prussia had granted was her neutrality. Now, however, Frederick William's territory had been crossed by the French without his consent, so he joined the coalition against Napoleon, gave free passage to the troops of Sweden and Russia, and despatched a powerful army to Austria. The French under Murat had reached and occupied Vienna, forcing the Austrian Emperor to flee for safety, and thence advanced into Moravia. Here, on the 1st of December, 1805, the two armies, both concentrated in their fullest strength (82,500 of the allies to 65,000 French) came face to face on the field of Austerlitz, where on the following day was to be fought one of the memorable battles in the history of the world.

## BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ

The Tsar, Alexander I (Paul having been assassinated in 1801), had joined Francis of Austria, and the two monarchs, with their staff officers, occupied the castle and village of Austerlitz. Their troops hastened to take up positions on the plateau of Pratzen, which Napoleon had designedly

## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

left free. His plans of battle were already fully made. He had, with the intuition of genius, foreseen the probable manœuvres of the enemy, and had left open for them the position which he wished them to occupy. He even announced their movement in a proclamation to his troops.

“The positions that we occupy are formidable,” he said, “and while the enemy march to turn my right they will present to me their flank.”

This movement to the right was indeed the one that had been decided upon by the allies, with the purpose of cutting off the road to Vienna by isolating numerous corps dispersed in Austria and Styria. It had been shrewdly divined by Napoleon in choosing his ground.

The fact that the 2nd of December was the anniversary of the coronation of the emperor filled the French troops with ardour. They celebrated it by making great torches of the straw which formed their beds and illuminating their camp. Early the next morning the allies began their projected movement. To the joy of Napoleon his prediction was fulfilled: they were advancing toward his right. He felt sure that the victory was in his hands.

He held his own men in readiness while the line of the enemy deployed. The sun was rising, its rays gleaming through a mist, which dispersed as it rose higher. It now poured its brilliant beams across the field, the afterward famous ‘sun of Austerlitz.’ The movement of the allies had the effect of partly withdrawing their troops from the plateau of Pratzen. At a signal from the emperor the strongly concentrated centre of the French army moved forward in a dense mass, directing their march toward the plateau, which they made all haste to occupy. They had reached the foot of the hill before the rising mist revealed them to the enemy.

The two emperors watched the movement without divining its intent. “See how the French climb the height without



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staying to reply to our fire," said Prince Czartoryski, who stood near them.

The emperors were soon to learn why their fire was disdained. Their marching columns, thrown out one after another on the slope, found themselves suddenly checked in their movement, and cut off from the two wings of the army. The allied force was pierced in its centre by Soult's division and flung back in disorder, in spite of the efforts of Kutusoff to send it aid. At the same time Davout faced the Russians on the right, and Murat and Lannes attacked the Russian and Austrian squadrons on the left, while Kellermann's light cavalry dispersed the squadrons of the Uhlans.

The Russian Guard, checked in its movement, turned toward Pratzen, in a desperate effort to retrieve the fortune of the day. It was incautiously pursued by a French battalion, which soon found itself isolated and in danger. Napoleon perceived its peril and hastily sent Rapp to its support, with the Mamelukes and the chasseurs of the Guard. They rushed forward with energy and quickly drove back the enemy, Prince Repnin remaining a prisoner in their hands.

The day was lost to the allies. Everywhere disorder prevailed and their troops were in retreat. An isolated Russian division threw down its arms and surrendered. Two columns were forced back beyond the marshes. The soldiers rushed in their flight upon the ice of the lake, which the intense cold had made thick enough to bear their weight.

And now a terrible scene was witnessed. War is merciless ; it attains its end by death ; the slaughter of an enemy by almost any means is looked upon as admissible. By Napoleon's order the French cannon were turned upon the lake. Their plunging balls rent and splintered the ice under the feet of the crowd of fugitives. Soon it broke with a crash, and the unhappy soldiers, with shrill cries of despair, sank to death in the chilling waters beneath, thousands of them perishing.

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A portion of the allied army made a perilous retreat along a narrow embankment which separated the two lakes of Mönitz and Satschan, their exposed causeway swept by the fire of the French batteries. Of the whole army, the corps of Prince Bagration alone withdrew in order of battle.

All that dreadful day the roar of battle had resounded. At its close the victorious French occupied the field; the allied army was pouring back in disordered flight, the dismayed emperors in its midst; thousands of dead covered the field, the groans of thousands of wounded men filled the air. More than 15,000 prisoners, including twenty generals, remained in Napoleon's hands, and with them a hundred and thirty pieces of cannon and forty flags, including the standards of the Imperial Guard of Russia.

### THE GAINS OF THE EMPIRE

The defeat was a crushing one. Napoleon had won the most famous of his battles. The Emperor Francis, in deep depression, asked for an interview and an armistice. Two days afterward the emperors—the conqueror and the conquered—met, and an armistice was granted. While the negotiations for peace continued, Prussia made a shameful peace with Napoleon and accepted the state of Hanover as the price of the betrayal of her allies and as the seal of her alliance with the emperor. On December 26th a treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed at Presburg. The Emperor Francis yielded all his remaining possessions in Italy, and also the Tyrol, the Black Forest, and other districts in Germany, which Napoleon presented to his allies, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, whose monarchs were still more closely united to Napoleon by marriages between their children and relatives of himself and his wife Josephine. Bavaria and Würtemberg were made kingdoms, and Baden was raised in rank to a grand duchy. The three months'

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war was at an end. Of the several late enemies of France, only two remained in arms, Russia and England; and in England Pitt, Napoleon's greatest enemy, died during the next month, leaving to Fox, an admirer of the principles of the French Revolution, and to a great extent of the Corsican, the reins of power. Napoleon was at the summit of his glory and success.

The victory of Austerlitz left Germany in Napoleon's hands; it was this victory that drew from the heart of the grey-haired Pitt the well-known remark, "Roll up the map of Europe! it will not be wanted these ten years"; and now its remodelling was to be one of the greatest that had ever taken place at any one time. Kingdoms were formed and placed under Napoleon's brothers or favourite generals. His changes in the states of Germany were numerous and radical. The states in the south and west of Germany were organized into the Confederation of the Rhine, under his protection. Many of the small principalities were suppressed and their territories added to the larger states. As to the 'Holy Roman Empire,' a once powerful organization which had long since sunk into a mere shadow, it finally ceased to exist. The empire of France was extended by these and other changes until it spread over Italy, the Netherlands, and the south and west of Germany.

Changes so great as this could scarcely be made without exciting bitter opposition. Prussia had been seriously affected by Napoleon's map-making, and when Frederick William found that Napoleon was even taking from him his gift—or better, blood-money—of Hanover, he became so exasperated that he broke off all communication with France and began to prepare for war.

### THE CONQUEST OF PRUSSIA

It is by no means unlikely that Napoleon had been working for this. It is certain that he was quick to take advantage



## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

of it. While the Prussian King was slowly collecting his troops and war material, the veterans of France were already on the march and approaching the borders of Prussia. The hasty levies of Frederick William were no match for the war-hardened French, the Russians failed to come to their aid, and on the 14th of October, 1806, the two armies met at Jena.

The Prussians proved incapable of withstanding the impetuous attack of the French and were soon broken and in panic and flight. Nothing could stop them. Reinforcements came up, 20,000 in number, and were thrown across their path; but in vain, for they were swept away by the fugitives and pushed back by the triumphant pursuers.

At the same time another battle was in progress near Auerstädt between Marshal Davout and the forces of the Duke of Brunswick. This, too, ended in victory for the French. The king had been with the duke and was borne back by the flying host, the two bodies of fugitives finally coalescing. In that one fatal day Frederick William had lost his army and placed his kingdom in jeopardy. "They can do nothing but gather up the *débris*," said Napoleon.

It took but a brief period to complete the utter dispersal of the Prussian forces, and on October 27th Napoleon entered in triumph the city of Berlin, the Prussian capital. The whole country was at his mercy, and its chief cities were heavily taxed to meet the expenses of the war, while their treasures of art and science were carried off to enrich the museums and galleries of France. All English merchandise found in ports and warehouses was seized, and a heavy war contribution put upon the state. As Napoleon could not reach the British islands, he now established a continental embargo upon British trade. This war upon commerce, in which Great Britain took part in reprisal, caused great distress, not only in Europe but in America as well, one of its final effects being the American War of 1812.



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## INVASION OF POLAND

Napoleon, not content while an enemy remained in arms, with inflexible resolution resolved to make an end of all his adversaries and meet in battle the great empire of the north, which had remained in arms against him since the battle of Austerlitz. The Russian armies then occupied Poland, whose people, burning under the oppression and injustice to which they had been subjected, gladly welcomed Napoleon's specious offers to bring them back their lost liberties, and rose in his aid when he marched his armies into their country. One of the means taken by Napoleon to draw the Poles to his standard was to issue a proclamation with the forged signature of their hero, Kosciusko, attached thereto.

In Poland the French, on marching against their foe, found themselves exposed to unlooked-for privations. They had dreamed of abundant stores of food, but discovered that the country they had invaded was, in this wintry season, a desert, a series of frozen solitudes incapable of feeding an army, and holding no reward for them other than that of battle with and victory over the hardy Russians.

Napoleon advanced to Warsaw, the Polish capital. The Russians were entrenched behind the Narew and the Ukra. The French continued to advance. The Russians were beaten and forced back in every battle, several furious encounters took place, and Alexander's army fell back upon the Pregel, intact and powerful still, despite the French successes. The terrible cold and the character of the country seriously interfered with Napoleon's plans, the troops being forced to make their way through dense and rain-soaked forests, and march over desolate and marshy plains. The winter of the north fought against them like a strong army and many of them fell dead without a battle. Warlike movements became almost impossible to the troops of the south, though the hardy northerners, accustomed to the climate, continued their military operations.

# THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

## THE CHECK AT EYLAU

By the end of January the Russian army was evidently approaching in force, and immediate action became necessary. The cold increased. The mud was converted into ice. On January 30, 1807, Napoleon left Warsaw and marched in search of the enemy. General Benningsen retreated, avoiding battle, and on the 7th of February entered the small town of Eylau, from which his troops were pushed by the approaching French. He encamped outside the town, the French in and about it; it was evident that a great battle was at hand.

The weather was cold. Snow lay thick upon the ground and still fell in great flakes. A sheet of ice covering some small lakes formed part of the country upon which the armies were encamped, but was thick enough to bear their weight. It was a chill, inhospitable country to which the demon of war had come.

Before daybreak on the 8th Napoleon was in the streets of Eylau, forming his line of battle for the coming engagement. Soon the artillery of both armies opened, and a rain of cannon-balls began to decimate the opposing ranks. The Russian fire was concentrated on the town, which was soon in flames. That of the French was directed against a hill which the emperor deemed it important to occupy. The two armies, nearly equal in numbers—the French having 75,000 to the Russian 70,000—were but a short distance apart, and the slaughter from the fierce cannonade was terrible.

A series of movements on both sides began, Davout marching upon the Russian flank and Augereau upon the centre, while the Russians manœuvred as if with the purpose to out-flank the French on the left. At this interval an unlooked-for obstacle interfered with the French movements; it began to snow heavily, and the fall grew so dense that vision was restricted to a few feet and the armies lost sight of each other.

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In this semi-darkness the French columns lost their way and wandered about uncertainly, while Augereau's corps was completely destroyed. For half an hour the snow continued to fall. When it ceased the position of the French army was serious. Augereau and other commanders were wounded, and the various columns had lost touch with each other and so were of small use for purposes of mutual support. The Russians, on the contrary, were just about to undertake a vigorous turning movement, with 20,000 infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery.

"Are you going to let me be devoured by these people?" cried Napoleon to Murat, his eagle eye discerning the danger. He ordered a grand charge of all the cavalry of the army consisting of eighty squadrons. With Murat at their head, they rushed like an avalanche on the Russian lines, breaking through the infantry and dispersing the cavalry who came to its support. The Russian infantry suffered severely from this charge, its two massive lines being rent asunder, while the third fell back upon a wood in the rear. Finally Davout, whose movement had been hindered by the weather, reached the Russian rear, and in an impetuous charge drove them from the hilly ground which Napoleon wished to occupy.

The Russians now began a retreat, leaving the ground strewn thickly with their dead and wounded; but at this critical moment a Prussian force, some 8000 strong, which was being pursued by Marshal Ney, arrived on the field and checked the French advance and the Russian retreat. Benningsen regained sufficient confidence to prepare for final attack, when he was advised of the approach of Ney, who was two or three hours behind the Prussians. At this discouraging news a final retreat was ordered.

The French were left masters of the field, though little attempt was made to pursue the menacing columns of the enemy, who withdrew in military array. It was a victory



## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

that came near being a defeat, and which, indeed, both sides claimed. Never before had Napoleon been so stubbornly withstood. His success had been bought at a frightful cost, and Königsberg, for long the second capital of Prussia, which the emperor had boasted he would enter in triumph, was still covered by the compact columns of the allies. The men were in no condition to pursue. Food was wanting, and they were without shelter from the wintry chill. Ney surveyed the terrible scene with eyes of gloom. "What a massacre," he exclaimed; "and without result!"

So severe was the exhaustion on both sides from this great battle that it was four months before hostilities were resumed. Meanwhile Danzig, which had been strongly besieged, surrendered, and more than 30,000 men were released to reinforce the French army. Negotiations for peace went slowly on, without result, and it was June before hostilities again became imminent.

Eylau, which was now Napoleon's headquarters, presented a very different aspect at this season from that of four months before. Then all was wintry desolation; now the country presented a beautiful scene of green woodland, shining lakes, and attractive villages. The light corps of the army were in motion in various directions, their object being to get between the Russians and their magazines and cut off retreat to Königsberg. On June 13th Napoleon, with the main body of his army, which had been heavily reinforced, marched toward Friedland, a town on the river Alle, in the vicinity of Königsberg, toward which the Russians were moving. Here, crossing the Alle, Benningsen drove from the town a regiment of French hussars which had occupied it, and fell with all his force on the corps of Marshal Lannes, which alone had reached the field. Lannes held his ground with his usual heroic fortitude, while sending successive messengers for aid to the emperor. Noon had passed when Napoleon and his staff reached the



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

field at full gallop, far in advance of the troops. He surveyed the field with eyes of hope. "It is the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo," he said; "it is a lucky day for us."

"Give me only a reinforcement," cried Oudinot, "and we will cast all the Russians into the water."

This seemed possible. Benningsen's troops were perilously concentrated within a bend of the river. Some of the French generals advised deferring the battle till the next day, as the hour was late, but Napoleon was too shrewd to let an advantage escape him.

"No," he said, "one does not surprise the enemy twice in such a blunder." He swept with his field-glass the masses of the enemy before him, then seized the arm of Marshal Ney. "You see the Russians and the town of Friedland," he said. "March straight forward; seize the town; take the bridges, whatever it may cost. Do not trouble yourself with what is taking place around you. Leave that to me and the army."

The troops were coming on rapidly, and marching to the places assigned them. The hours moved on. It was half-past five in the afternoon when the cannon sounded the signal of the coming fray. Meanwhile Ney's march upon Friedland had begun. A terrible fire from the Russians swept his ranks as he advanced. Aided by cavalry and artillery, he reached a stream defended by the Russian Imperial Guard. Before those picked troops the French recoiled in temporary disorder; but the division of General Dupont, marching briskly up, broke the Russian Guard, and the pursuing French rushed into the town. In a short time it was in flames and the fugitive Russians were cut off from the bridges, which were seized and set on fire.

The Russians made a vigorous effort to recover their lost ground, General Gortchakoff endeavouring to drive the French from the town, and other corps making repeated

## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

attacks on the French centre. All their efforts were in vain. The French columns continued to advance. By ten o'clock the battle was at an end. Many of the Russians had been drowned in the stream, and the field was covered with their dead, whose numbers were estimated by the boastful French bulletins at 15,000 or 18,000 men, while they made the improbable claim of having lost no more than 500 dead. Königsberg, the prize of victory, was quickly occupied by Marshal Soult, and yielded the French a vast quantity of food, and a large store of military supplies, which had been sent from England for Russian use. The King of Prussia had lost the whole of his possessions with the exception of the single town of Memel.

Victorious as Napoleon had been, he had found the Russians no contemptible foes. At Eylau he had come nearer defeat than ever before in his career. He was quite ready, therefore, to listen to overtures of peace, and toward the end of June a notable interview took place between him and the Tsar of Russia at Tilsit, on the Niemen, the two emperors meeting on a raft in the centre of the stream. What passed between them is not known. Some think that they arranged for a division of Europe between their respective empires, Alexander taking all the east, and Napoleon all the west. However that may be, the treaty of peace, signed July 8th, was a disastrous one for the defeated Prussian king, who was punished for his temerity in seeking to fight Napoleon alone by the loss of more than half his kingdom, while in addition a heavy war indemnity was laid upon his depleted treasury. He was forced to yield all the countries between the Rhine and the Elbe, to consent to the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the supremacy of the King of Saxony, and to the loss of Danzig and the surrounding territory, which was converted into a free state. A new kingdom, named Westphalia, was founded by Napoleon, made up of the territory taken from Prussia and the states

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

of Hesse, Brunswick, and South Hanover. His younger brother, Jerome Bonaparte, was made its king. It was a further step in his policy of founding a western empire.

Louisa, the beautiful and charming queen of Frederick William, sought Tilsit, hoping by the seduction of her beauty and grace of address to induce Napoleon to mitigate his harsh terms. But in vain she brought to bear upon him all the resources of her intellect and her attractive charm of manner. He continued cold and obdurate, and she left Tilsit deeply mortified and humiliated.

### CAMPAIGN OF 1809

The campaign in Spain which followed, and occupied the whole of 1809, we will leave for treatment in a future chapter, and shall now briefly summarize what followed in Eastern Europe. The events were of much interest, and take a prominent part in the annals of the great Napoleonic campaigns. Indignation of the Austrians at the arbitrary acts of the conqueror became in time so intense that, in April, 1809, they again declared war against France, despite the many defeats they had experienced. This war led to an interesting struggle in the Tyrol, the Austrian section of the Alps, in which Andreas Hofer, a valiant leader of the mountaineers, for a time gained freedom from French dominion. But their independence was of short duration, and their courageous leader was taken and remorselessly put to death for daring to seek freedom for his country.

The French campaign in Austria was, as usual, one of great speed—a speed that was remarkable for those days preceding the railway. Yet the Archduke Charles, who led the Austrians, was equally rapid in his movements, and the widely spread French army soon found itself in imminent risk of being cut in two by the Austrians. This peril Napoleon perceived in reaching the front, and he wrote urging Masséna forward.



## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

“Never was there need for more rapidity of movement than now. Activity, activity, speed!” was the burden of his letter.

A brief hesitation robbed the archduke of the advantage he had gained. The rapidly concentrating French army fell upon his troops, defeated them in a series of engagements, relieved Davout before Ratisbon, captured that town, and forced the archduke to retreat into Bohemia. This brief but active campaign gave Napoleon, according to his despatch, 50,000 prisoners, a hundred cannon, and a large quantity of other military material. In Italy the French were less successful, meeting with defeat at the hands of Archduke John, commander of the Austrian army in that country. General Macdonald, the French commander, took up a defensive position, and on the first of May was gratified to see indications of withdrawal of the enemy.

“Victory in Germany!” he cried. “Now is our time for a forward march.”

He was correct; the Archduke John had been recalled in haste to aid his brother Charles in the defence of Vienna, on which the French were advancing in force.

### GREAT BATTLES AROUND VIENNA

The campaign now became a race for the capital of Austria. During its progress several conflicts took place, in each of which the French won. The city was defended by the Archduke Maximilian with an army of over 15,000 men, but he found it expedient to withdraw, and on the 13th May the troops of Napoleon occupied the Austrian capital. Meanwhile Charles had concentrated his troops and was marching hastily toward the opposite side of the Danube, whither his brother John was advancing from Italy.

It was important for Napoleon to strike a blow before this junction could be made. He resolved to cross the Danube in the suburbs of the capital itself, and attack the Austrians



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before they were reinforced. In the vicinity of Vienna the channel of the river is broken by many islets. At the island of Lobau, the point chosen for the attempt, the river is broad and deep, but Lobau is separated from the opposite bank by only a narrow branch, while two smaller islets offered themselves as aids in the construction of bridges, there being four channels, over each of which a bridge was thrown.

This operation was difficult. The Danube, swollen by the melting snows, imperilled the bridges, erected with difficulty and braced by insufficient cordage. But despite this peril the crossing began, and on May 20th Marshal Masséna reached the other side and posted his troops in the two villages of Aspern and Essling, and along a deep ditch that connected them.

As yet only the vanguard of the Austrians had arrived. Other corps soon appeared, and by the afternoon of the 21st the entire army, from 70,000 to 80,000 strong, faced the French, still only half their number, and in a position of extreme peril, for the bridge over the main channel of the river had broken during the night, and the crossing was cut off in its midst.

Napoleon, however, was straining every nerve to repair the bridge, and Masséna and Lannes, in command of the advance, fought like men fighting for their lives. The Archduke Charles, the ablest soldier Napoleon had yet encountered, hurled his troops in masses upon Aspern, which covered the bridge to Lobau. Several times it was taken and retaken, but the French held on with a death-grip, all the strength of the Austrians seeming insufficient to break the hold of Lannes upon Essling. An advance in force, which nearly cut the communication between the two villages, was checked by an impetuous cavalry charge, and night fell, leaving the situation unchanged.

At dawn of the next day more than 70,000 French had



FRENCH HUTS ERECTED CLOSE BEHIND THE FIRST-LINE TRENCHES NEAR SOISSONS

*Photo Alfieri*



## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

crossed the stream ; Marshal Davout's corps, with part of the artillery and most of the ammunition, being still on the right bank. At this critical moment the large bridge, against which the Austrians had sent fireships, boats laden with stone, and other floating missiles, broke for the third time, and the engineers of the French army were again forced to the most strenuous and hasty exertions for its repair.

The struggle of the day that had just begun was one of extraordinary valour and obstinacy. Men went down in multitudes ; now the Austrians, now the French, were repulsed ; the Austrians, impetuously assailed, slowly fell back ; and Lannes was preparing for a vigorous movement designed to pierce their centre, when word was brought Napoleon that the great bridge had again yielded to the floating *débris*, carrying with it a regiment of cuirassiers, and cutting off the supply of ammunition. Lannes was at once ordered to fall back upon the villages, and simultaneously the Austrians made a powerful assault on the French centre, which was checked with great difficulty. Five times the charge was renewed, and though the enemy was finally repulsed, it became evident that Napoleon, for the first time in his career, had met with a decided check. Night fell at length, and reluctantly he gave the order to retreat. He had lost more than a battle, he had lost the brilliant soldier Lannes, who fell with a mortal wound. Back to the island of Lobau marched the French ; Masséna, in charge of the rear-guard, bringing over the last regiments in safety. More than 40,000 men lay dead and wounded on that fatal field, which remained in Austrian hands. Napoleon, at last, was obliged to acknowledge a check, if not a defeat, and the nations of Europe, when the news reached them, held up their heads with renewed hope. It had been proved that the Corsican was not invincible.

Some of Napoleon's generals, deeply disheartened, advised



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an immediate retreat, but the emperor had no thought of such a movement. It would have brought a thousand disasters in its train. On the contrary, he held the island of Lobau with a strong force, and brought all his resources to bear on the construction of a bridge that would defy the current of the stream. At the same time reinforcements were hurried forward, until by the 1st of July he had around Vienna an army of 150,000 men. The Austrians had probably from 135,000 to 140,000. The archduke had, moreover, strongly fortified the positions of the recent battle, expecting the attack upon them to be resumed.

### VICTORY AT WAGRAM

Napoleon had no such intention. He had selected the heights ranging from Neusiedl to Wagram, strongly occupied by the Austrians, but not fortified, as his point of attack, and on the night of July 4th bridges were thrown from the island of Lobau to the mainland, and the army which had been gathering for several days on the island began its advance. It moved as a whole against the heights of Wagram, occupying Aspern and Essling in its advance.

These operations took up the succeeding day, and on the 6th the great battle began. It was hotly contested at all points, but attention may be confined to the movement against the plateau of Wagram, which had been entrusted to Marshal Davout. The height was gained after a desperate struggle; the key of the battle-field was held by the French; the Austrians, impetuously assailed at every point, and driven from every position of vantage, began a retreat. The Archduke Charles had anxiously looked for the coming of his brother John, with the army under his command. He waited in vain, the laggard prince failed to appear, and retreat became inevitable. The battle had already lasted ten hours, and the French held all the strong points of the field; but the Austrians withdrew slowly and in battle

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array, presenting a front that discouraged any effort to pursue. There was nothing resembling a rout, and the victory for the French, though it was a victory, could not be compared with such as those of Jena or Austerlitz.

The Archduke Charles retreated to Bohemia. His forces were dispersed during the march, but he had 70,000 men with him when Napoleon reached his front at Znaim, on the road to Prague, on the 11th of July. Further hostilities were checked by a request for a truce, preliminary to a peace. The battle, already begun, was stopped, and during the night an armistice was signed. The vigour of the Austrian resistance and the doubtful attitude of the other Powers made Napoleon willing enough to treat for terms.

The peace, which was finally signed at Vienna, October 14, 1809, took from Austria 50,000 square miles of territory and 4,000,000 inhabitants, together with a war contribution of nearly £17,500,000, while her army was restricted to 150,000 men. The overthrow of the several outbreaks which had taken place in North Germany, the failure of a British expedition against Antwerp, and the suppression of the revolt in the Tyrol, ended all organized opposition to Napoleon, who was once more master of the European situation.

### THE DIVORCE OF JOSEPHINE

Raised by this signal success to the summit of his power, lord paramount of Western Europe, only one thing remained to trouble the mind of the victorious emperor. His wife, Josephine, was childless; his throne threatened to be left without an heir. Much as he had seemed to love his wife, the companion of his early days, when he was an unknown and unconsidered subaltern, seeking humbly enough for military employment in Paris, yet ambition and the thirst for glory were always the ruling passions in his nature, and had now grown so dominant as to throw love and wifely

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devotion utterly into the shade. He resolved to set aside his wife and seek a new bride among the princesses of Europe, hoping in this way to leave an heir of his own blood as successor to his imperial throne.

Negotiations were entered into with the courts of Europe to obtain a daughter of one of the proud royal houses as the spouse of the plebeian Emperor of France. No maiden of less exalted rank than a princess of the imperial families of Russia or Austria was high enough to meet the ambitious aims of this arrogant lord of battles, and negotiations were entered into with both, ending in the selection of Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor Francis of Austria, who did not venture to refuse a demand for his daughter's hand from the master of half his dominions.

Napoleon was not long in finding a plea for setting aside the wife of his days of poverty and obscurity. A defect in the marriage was alleged, and the transparent farce went on. The divorce of Josephine has awakened the sympathy of a century. It was, indeed, a piteous example of statecraft, and there can be no doubt that Napoleon suffered in his heart while yielding to the dictates of his unbridled ambition. The marriage with Marie Louise, on the 1st of April, 1810, was conducted with all possible pomp and display, no less than five queens carrying the train of the bride in the august ceremony. The purpose of the marriage did not fail; the next year a son was born to Napoleon. But this imperial youth, who was dignified with the title of King of Rome, was destined to an inglorious life, as an unconsidered tenant of the gilded halls of his imperial grandfather of Austria.

The empire so brilliantly built up by Napoleon the Great was destined to end with his final defeat at Waterloo. It was as well. No man of his name could hope to emulate his career or worthily grasp the sceptre he was finally forced to let fall. An unworthy one, sarcastically termed 'Napoleon the Little,' sought to do so, but proved an example of

## THE EARTHQUAKE OF NAPOLEONISM

the ordinary seeking to replace the extraordinary. Of all rulers of men and leaders of armies few if any have equalled Napoleon in genius. Alike as a soldier and as a statesman he proved himself great, and the passing of the years has never brought about the passing of the admiration of the world for his genius, or its wonder at the defects that accompanied it.



## CHAPTER VII

### NELSON AND WELLINGTON, THE CHAMPIONS OF BRITAIN

#### END OF THE EUROPEAN REIGN OF TERROR

*The Battle of the Nile : Nelson at Copenhagen :  
Defeat of the Danes : Nelson at Trafalgar : Nelson  
wins and dies : The Campaign in Portugal :  
Oporto and Talavera : The French driven from  
Portugal : Wellington in Spain : Madrid occupied*

FOR nearly twenty years went on the stupendous struggle between Napoleon the Great and the Powers of Europe, but in all that time, and among the multitude of men who met the forces of France in battle, only two names emerge which the world cares to remember, those of Horatio Nelson, the most famous of the admirals of England, and the Duke of Wellington, who alone seemed able to overthrow the greatest military genius of modern times. On land the efforts of Napoleon were seconded by the intrepidity of a galaxy of heroes, Ney, Murat, Moreau, Massena, and other men of fame. At sea the story reads differently. That era of stress and strain raised no great admiral in the service of France; her ships were feebly commanded, and the fleet of England, under the daring Nelson, kept its proud place as mistress of the sea.

#### THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

The first proof of this came before the opening of the century, when Napoleon, led by the ardour of his ambition, landed in Egypt, as we have seen, with vague hopes of rivalling in the East the far-famed exploits of Alexander the Great. The fleet which bore him thither remained moored in Aboukir Bay, where Nelson, scouring the Mediterranean in quest of it, first came in sight of its serried line of ships on August 1, 1798. One alternative alone dwelt in his courageous soul, that of an heroic death or a glorious victory. "Before this

## NELSON AND WELLINGTON

time to-morrow I shall have gained a peerage or Westminster Abbey," he said.

In the mighty contest that followed, the French had the advantage in numbers, alike of ships, guns, and men. They were drawn up in a strong and compact line of battle, moored in a manner that promised to bid defiance to a force double their own. They lay in an open roadstead but had every advantage of situation, the British fleet being obliged to attack them in a position carefully chosen for defence. Only the genius of Nelson enabled him to overcome those advantages of the enemy. "If we succeed, what will the world say?" asked Captain Berry, on hearing the admiral's plan of battle. "There is no 'if' in the case," answered the admiral. "That we shall succeed is certain: who may live to tell the story is a very different question."

The story of the Battle of the Nile belongs to the record of eighteenth-century affairs. All we need say here is that it ended in a glorious victory for the English fleet. Of thirteen ships of the line in the French fleet, only two escaped. Of four frigates, one was sunk and one burned. The British loss was 895 men. Of the French, 5225 perished in the terrible fray, and nearly 3800 fell into the hands of the British. Nelson sprang, in a moment, from the position of a man without fame into that of the naval hero of the world. Congratulations and honours were showered upon him, the Sultan of Turkey rewarded him with costly presents, valuable testimonials came from other quarters, and his own country honoured him with the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and settled upon him for life a pension of £2000.

### NELSON AT COPENHAGEN

The first great achievement of Nelson in the following century was the result of a daring resolution of the statesmen of England, in their desperate contest with the Corsican conqueror. By his exploit at the Nile the admiral had very

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seriously weakened the sea-power of France. But there were Powers then in alliance with France—Russia, Sweden, and Denmark—which had formed a confederacy to make England respect their rights on the high seas, and whose combined fleet, if it should come to the aid of France, might prove sufficient to sweep the ships of England from the seas. The weakest of these Powers, and the one most firmly allied to France, was Denmark, whose fleet, consisting of twenty-three ships of the line and about thirty-one frigates and smaller vessels, lay at Copenhagen. At any moment this powerful fleet might be put at the disposal of Napoleon. This possible danger the British Cabinet resolved to avoid. A plan was laid to destroy the fleet of the Danes, and on the 12th of March, 1801, the British fleet sailed with the purpose of putting this resolution into effect.

Nelson, then bearing the rank of vice-admiral, went with the fleet, but only as second in command. Somewhat to the chagrin of the English people, Sir Hyde Parker, a brave and able seaman, but one whose name history has let sink into oblivion, was given chief command—a fact which would have insured the failure of the expedition if Nelson had not set aside precedent, and put glory before duty. Parker, indeed, soon set Nelson chafing by long-drawn-out negotiations, which proved useless, wasted time, and saved the Danes from being taken by surprise. When, on the morning of March 30th, the British fleet at length advanced through the Sound and came in sight of the Danish line of defence, they beheld formidable preparations to meet them.

Eighteen vessels, including full-rigged ships and hulks, were moored in a line nearly a mile and a half in length flanked to the northward by two artificial islands mounted with nearly seventy heavy cannon and supplied with furnaces for heating shot. Near by lay two large block-ships. Across the harbour's mouth extended a massive chain, and shore batteries commanded the channel. Outside the entrance



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to the harbour were moored two 74-gun ships, a 40-gun frigate and some smaller vessels. In addition to these defences, which stretched for nearly four miles in length, was the difficulty of the channel, always hazardous from its shoals, but now rendered more so by false buoys set for the purpose of luring the British ships to destruction.

### DEFEAT OF THE DANES

With modern defences—quick-firing guns and steel-clad batteries—the enterprise would have been hopeless, but the art of defence was then at a far lower level. Nelson, who led the van in the 74-gun ship *Elephant*, gazed on these preparations with admiration, but with no evidence of doubt as to the result. The British fleet consisted of eighteen line-of-battle ships, with a large number of frigates and other craft, and with this force and his indomitable spirit, he felt confident of breaking these formidable lines.

At ten o'clock on the morning of April 2nd the battle began, two of the British ships running aground almost before a gun was fired. At sight of this disaster, Nelson instantly changed his plan of sailing, starboarded his helm, and sailed in, dropping anchor within a cable's length of the *Dannebrog*, of 62 guns. The other ships followed his example, avoiding the shoals on which the *Bellona* and *Russell* had grounded, and taking position at the close quarters of 100 fathoms from the Danish ships.

A terrific cannonade followed, kept up by both sides with unrelenting fury for three hours, and with terrible effect on the contesting ships and their crews. At this juncture took place an event that has made Nelson's name immortal among naval heroes. Admiral Parker, whose flagship lay at a distance from the hot fight, but who heard the incessant and furious fire and saw the grounded ships flying signals of distress, began to fear that Nelson was in serious danger, from which it was his duty to withdraw him. At about one



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o'clock he reluctantly hoisted a signal for the action to cease. At this moment Nelson was pacing the quarter-deck of the *Elephant*, inspired with all the fury of the fight. "It is a warm business," he said to Colonel Stewart, who was on the ship with him; "and any moment may be the last of either of us; but, mark you, I would not for thousands be anywhere else."

As he spoke the flag-lieutenant reported that the signal to cease action was shown on the mast-head of the flag-ship *London*, and asked if he should report it to the fleet.

"No," was the stern answer; "merely acknowledge it. Is our signal for 'close action' still flying?"

"Yes," replied the officer.

"Then see that you keep it so," said Nelson.

"Do you know," he suddenly asked Colonel Stewart, who was standing at his side, "the meaning of signal No. 39 shown by Parker's ship?"

"No. What does it mean?"

"To leave off action!" He was silent a moment, then burst out, "Now damn me if I do!"

Turning to Captain Foley, who stood near him, he said with a sly touch of humour:

"Foley, you know I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes." He raised his telescope, applied it to his blind eye, and said: "I really do not see the signal."

On roared the guns, overhead on the *Elephant* still streamed the signal for "close action," and still the torrent of British balls rent the Danish ships. In half an hour more the fire of the Danes was fast weakening. In an hour it had nearly ceased. They had suffered terribly, in ships and lives, and only the continued fire of the shore batteries now kept the contest alive. It was impossible to take possession of the prizes, and Nelson sent a flag of truce ashore with a letter in which he threatened to burn the vessels, with all

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on board, unless the shore fire was stopped. This threat proved effective, the fire ceased, the great battle was at an end.

At four o'clock Nelson went on board the *London*, to meet the admiral. He was depressed in spirit, and said : " I have fought contrary to orders, and may be hanged ; never mind, let them."

There was no danger of this ; Parker had raised the signal through fear for Nelson's safety, and now gloried in his success, giving congratulations where his subordinate looked for blame. The Danes had fought bravely and stubbornly, but they had no commander of the spirit and genius of Nelson, and were forced to yield to British pluck and endurance. Until June 13th Nelson remained in the Baltic, watching the Russian fleet which he might still have to fight. Then came orders for his return home, and word reached him that he had been created Viscount Nelson for his services.

### NELSON AT TRAFALGAR

There remains to describe the last and most famous of Nelson's exploits, that in which he put an end to the sea-power of France, by destroying the remainder of her fleet at Trafalgar, and met death at the moment of victory. Four years had passed since the fight at Copenhagen. During much of that time Nelson had kept his fleet on guard off Toulon, impatiently waiting until the enemy should venture from that port of refuge. At length, the combined fleet of France and Spain, now in alliance, escaped his vigilance, and sailed to the West Indies to work havoc in the British colonies. He followed them thither in all haste ; and subsequently, on their return to France, he chased them back across the seas, burning with eagerness to bring them to bay.

On the 19th of October, 1805, the allied fleet put to sea from

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the harbour of Cadiz, confident that its great strength would enable it to meet any force the British had upon the waves. Admiral de Villeneuve, with thirty-three ships of the line and a considerable number of smaller craft, had orders to force the straits of Gibraltar, land troops at Naples, sweep British cruisers and commerce from the Mediterranean, and then seek the port of Toulon to refit. As it turned out, he never reached the straits, his fleet meeting its fate before it could leave the Atlantic waves. Nelson had reached the coast of Europe again, and was close at hand when the doomed ships of the allies appeared. Two swift ocean scouts saw the movements, and hastened to Lord Nelson with the welcome news that the long-deferred moment was at hand. On the 21st, the British fleet came within view, and the following signal was set on the mast-head of the flag-ship : "The French and Spaniards are out at last ; they outnumber us in ships and guns and men ; we are on the eve of the greatest sea-fight in history."

On came the ships, great lumbering, picturesque craft, strangely unlike the war vessels of to-day. Instead of the trim, grim, steel-clad, steam-driven, modern battleship, with its revolving turret, and great frowning, breech-loading guns, sending their balls through miles of air, those were bluff-bowed, ungainly hulks, with bellying sides towering like black walls above the sea as if to make the largest mark possible for hostile shot, with a great show of muzzle-loading guns of small range, while overhead rose lofty spars and spreading sails. Ships they were that to-day would be sent to the bottom in five minutes of fight, but which, mated against others of the same build, were capable of giving a gallant account of themselves.

It was off the shoals of Cape Trafalgar, near the southern extremity of Spain, that the two fleets met, and such a tornado of fire as has rarely been seen upon the ocean waves was poured from their broad and lofty sides. As they came

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together there floated from the mast-head of the *Victory*, Nelson's flagship, that signal which has become the watch-word of the British Isles : " England expects that every man will do his duty."

### NELSON WINS AND DIES

We cannot follow the fortunes of all the vessels in that stupendous fray, the most famous sea-fight in history. It must serve to follow the *Victory* in her course, in which Nelson eagerly sought to thrust himself into the heart of the fight and dare death in his quest for victory. He was not long in meeting his wish. Soon he found himself in a nest of enemies, eight ships at once pouring their fire upon his devoted vessel, which could not bring a gun to bear in return, the wind having died away and the ship lying almost motionless upon the waves.

Before the *Victory* was able to fire a shot fifty of her men had fallen, killed or wounded, and her canvas was pierced and rent till it looked like a series of fishing-nets. But the men stuck to their guns with unyielding tenacity, and at length their opportunity came. A 68-pounder carronade, loaded with a round shot and 500 musket-balls, was fired into the cabin windows of the *Bucentaure*, with such terrible effect as to disable 400 men and 20 guns, and put the ship practically out of the fight.

The *Victory* next turned upon the *Neptune* and the *Redoubtable*, of the enemy's fleet. The *Neptune*, not liking her looks, kept off, but she collided and locked spars with the *Redoubtable*, and a terrific fight began. On the opposite side of the *Redoubtable* came the British ship *Téméraire*, and opposite it again a second ship of the enemy, the four vessels lying bow to bow, and rending one another's sides with an incessant hail of balls. On the *Victory* the gunners were ordered to depress their pieces, that the balls should not go through and wound the *Téméraire* beyond. The



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muzzles of their cannon almost touched the enemy's side, and after each shot a bucket of water was dashed into the rent, that they might not set fire to the vessel which they confidently expected to take as a prize.

In the midst of the hot contest came the disaster already spoken of. Brass swivels were mounted in the French ship's tops to sweep with their fire the deck of the foe, and as Nelson and Captain Hardy paced together their poop deck, regardless of danger, the admiral suddenly fell. A ball from one of these guns had reached the noblest mark in the fleet. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," the fallen man said.

"I hope not," said Hardy.

"Yes, my backbone is shot through."

His words were not far from the truth. He never arose from that fatal shot. Yet, dying as he was, his spirit survived.

"I hope none of our ships have struck, Hardy," he feebly said in a later interval of the fight.

"No, my lord. There is small fear of that."

"I'm a dead man, Hardy, but I'm glad of what you say. Whip them now you've got them. Whip them as they've never been whipped before."

Another hour passed. Hardy came below again to say that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's ships had struck.

"That's better, though I bargained for twenty," said the dying man. "And now, anchor, Hardy—anchor."

"I suppose, my lord, that Admiral Collingwood will now take the direction of affairs."

"Not while I live," exclaimed Nelson, with a momentary return of energy. "Do *you* anchor, Hardy."

"Then shall *we* make the signal, my lord."

"Yes, for if I live, I'll anchor." There was silence for a moment or two, and then, "I say, Hardy."

"Yes?"

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“Don't have my poor carcass hove overboard,” said the admiral. “Get what's left of me sent to England, if you can manage it. Good-bye, Hardy. I've done my duty, and I thank God for it.”

That was the end. Five minutes later Horatio Nelson, England's greatest sea captain, was dead. He had won—not a peerage and Westminster Abbey—victory, and a noble resting-place in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Collingwood did not anchor, but stood out to sea with the eighteen prizes of the hard-fought fray. In the gale that followed many of the results of victory were lost, four of the ships being retaken, some wrecked on shore, some foundering at sea, only four reaching British waters in Gibraltar Bay. But whatever was lost, Nelson's fame was secure, and the victory at Trafalgar is treasured as one of the most famous triumphs of British arms.

The naval battle at Copenhagen, won by Nelson in 1801, was repeated six years later by a combined land and naval expedition in which Wellington, England's other champion, took part. Having learnt that Napoleon was again making arrangements to employ the Danish fleet against England, the British government, though at peace with Denmark, sent a fleet to Copenhagen, with the demand that the Danes should hand over the whole of their warships, or alternatively suffer the bombardment of their capital. This peremptory order was, as was to be expected, scorned by the high-spirited little nation, whereupon the British bombarded and captured the city, and seized the Danish ships. A battle took place on land in which Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) won an easy victory and captured 10,000 men. The whole business was a not particularly creditable incident in the struggle to defeat Napoleon, and while it has been defended on the plea of expediency, it has also been branded as being little short of piracy and murder.

# THE NATIONS AT WAR

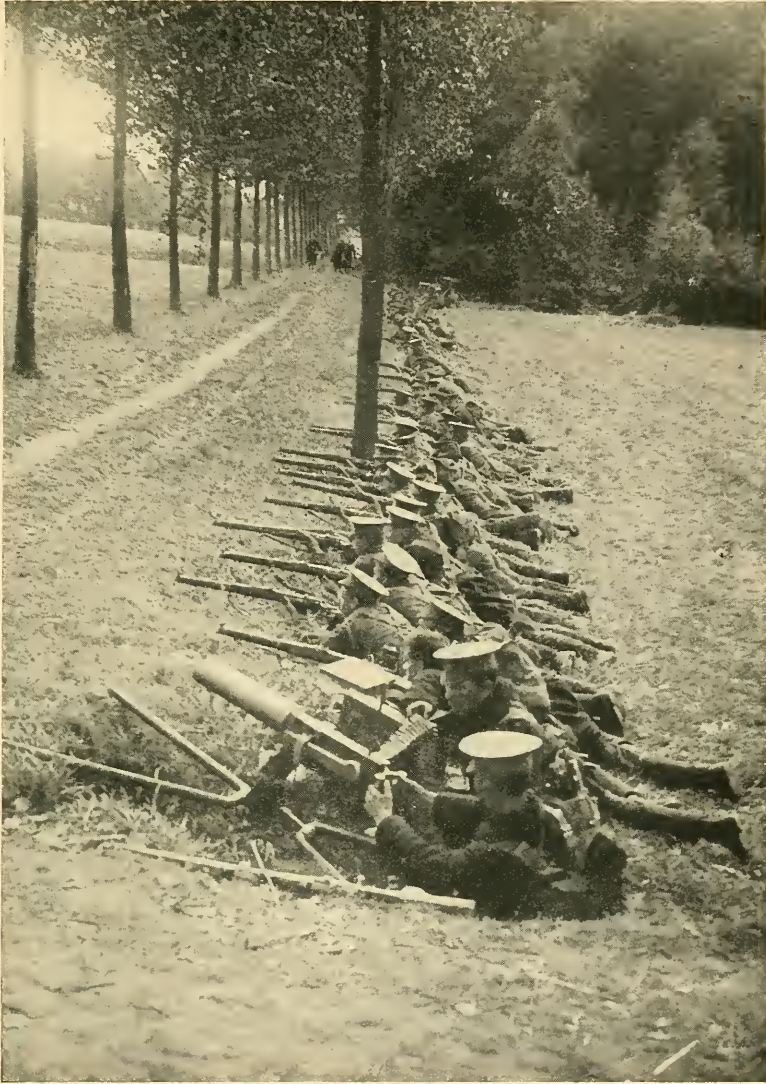
## THE CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL

Not long afterward England prepared to take a serious part on land in the desperate contest with Napoleon, and sent a British force to Portugal, then held by the French army of invasion under Marshal Junot. This force was commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and landed August 1st, 1808, at Mondego Bay. It was soon joined by General Spencer from Cadiz, and the united forces amounted to something under 16,000 men.

The French, far from home and without support, were seriously alarmed at this invasion, and justly so, for on August 21st, Wellesley having been reinforced by the arrival of 4000 more men, they met with defeat in a sharp battle at Vimeiro, and would probably have been forced to surrender as prisoners of war had not the troops been called off from pursuit by Sir Harry Burrard, who had been sent out to supersede Wellesley in command. The end of it all was a truce, and a convention under whose terms the French troops were permitted to evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage and return to France. This release of Junot from a situation which precluded escape so disgusted Wellesley that he threw up his command and returned to England. Other troops sent out under Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird met a superior force of French in Spain, and their expedition ended in disaster to themselves, though they achieved their object in preventing the seizure of Portugal and Andalusia by Napoleon. Moore was killed at Corunna in January, 1809, while the troops were embarking to return home, and the memory of this affair has been preserved in the famous poem, "The Burial of Sir John Moore," from which we quote :

*We buried him darkly at dead of night,  
The sod with our bayonets turning,  
By the glimmering moonbeams' misty light  
And the lanterns dimly burning.*





BRITISH MARINES AT ANTWERP

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*





## NELSON AND WELLINGTON

In April, 1809, Wellesley, now chief in command, returned to Portugal to begin a struggle which was to continue until the fall of Napoleon. There were at that time about 20,000 British soldiers at Lisbon, while the French had in Spain more than 300,000 men, under such generals as Ney, Soult, and Victor. The British, indeed, were aided by a large number of natives in arms, but these, though of service as guerillas, were almost useless in regular warfare.

### OPORTO AND TALAVERA

Wellesley was at Lisbon. Oporto, 170 miles north, was held by Marshal Soult, who had recently taken it. Without delay Wellington marched thither, and drove the French outposts across the river Douro. But in their retreat they burned the bridge of boats across the river, seized every boat they could find, and rested in security, defying their foes to cross. Soult, veteran officer though he was, fancied that he had disposed of Wellesley, and massed near the mouth of the river, in which quarter alone he looked for an attack.

He did not know his antagonist. A few skiffs were secured, and a small party of British was sent across the stream. The French attacked them, but they held their ground till some others joined them, and by the time Soult was informed of the danger Wellesley had landed a large force, and controlled a good supply of boats. A battle followed on the 12th of May, in which Oporto was taken and the French routed and forced to retreat. But the only road by which their artillery or baggage could be moved had been seized by General Beresford, and was strongly held. In consequence Soult was forced to abandon all his wagons and cannon and over 5000 of his troops, and make his escape by mountain roads into Spain.

This signal victory was followed by another on July 27th,

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1809, when Wellesley, with 20,000 British soldiers and about 40,000 Spanish allies, met a French army of 60,000 men at Talavera in Spain. The battle that succeeded lasted two days. The brunt of it fell upon the British, the Spaniards proving of little use, yet it ended in the defeat of the French, who retired unmolested, the British being too exhausted to pursue.

The tidings of this victory were received with the utmost enthusiasm in England. It served to show that British valour could win battles against Napoleon on land as well as on sea. Wellesley received the warmest thanks of the king, and, like Nelson, was rewarded by being raised to the peerage, being given the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington.

### THE FRENCH DRIVEN FROM PORTUGAL

Men and supplies just then would have served Wellington better than titles. With strong support he could have marched on and taken Madrid. As it was, he felt obliged to retire upon the fortress of Badajoz, near the frontier of Portugal. Spain was swarming with French soldiers, who were gradually collected there until they exceeded 350,000 men. Of these 80,000, under the command of Masséna, were sent to act against the British. Before this strong force Wellington found it necessary to draw back, and the frontier fortresses of Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo were taken by the French. Wellington's first stand was on the heights of Busaco, September, 1810. Here, with about 25,000 British troops and an equal number of Portuguese, he withstood all the attacks of the French, who in the end were forced to withdraw. Masséna then tried to gain the road between Lisbon and Oporto, whereupon Wellington quickly retreated toward Lisbon.

The British forces had during the winter been very usefully employed. The road by which Lisbon must be approached

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passes the village of Torres Vedras, and here three strong lines of earthworks—the famous ‘Lines of Torres Vedras’—were constructed, the outer one being nearly thirty miles in length, stretching over the heights from the sea to the Tagus, and effectually securing Lisbon against attack. These works had been built with such secrecy and despatch that the French were quite ignorant of their existence, and Masséna, marching in confidence upon the Portuguese capital, was amazed and chagrined on finding before him this formidable barrier.

The lines were strongly defended, and all his efforts to take them proved in vain. He then tried to reduce the British by famine, but in this he was equally baffled, food being poured into Lisbon from the sea. He tried by a feigned retreat to draw the British from their works, but this stratagem failed of effect, and for four months longer the armies remained inactive. At length the exhaustion of provisions throughout the country made a real retreat of the French necessary, and Masséna withdrew across the Spanish frontier, halting near Salamanca. Of the proud force with which Napoleon proposed to “drive the British leopards into the sea,” more than half had vanished in this luckless campaign.

### WELLINGTON IN SPAIN

But though the French army had withdrawn from Portugal, the frontier fortresses were still in French hands, and of these Almeida, near the borders, was the first to be attacked by Wellington’s forces. Masséna advanced with 50,000 men to its relief, and the two armies met at Fuentes-de-Oñoro, May 4th, 1811. The French made attacks on the 5th and 6th, but were each time repulsed, and on the 8th Masséna retreated, Almeida falling into the hands of Wellington three days later.

Another battle of the most sanguinary character was fought



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in front of Badajoz, the total loss of the two armies being 15,000 killed and wounded. For a time the British seemed threatened with inevitable defeat, but the fortune of the day was turned into victory by a desperate charge. Subsequently Ciudad Rodrigo was attacked, and was carried by storm in January, 1812. Wellington then returned to Badajoz, which was also taken by storm on the 7th of April after a desperate assault following a three weeks' siege, in which the victors lost 5000 men, a number exceeding that of the whole French garrison.

### MADRID OCCUPIED

These continued French reverses were seriously out of consonance with the usual experiences of Napoleon's armies. He was furious with his marshals, blaming them severely, and might have taken their place in the struggle with Wellington but that his fatal march to Russia was about to begin. Badajoz taken, Wellington advanced into Spain, and on July 22nd encountered the French army under Marmont before the famous old town of Salamanca. The battle, one of the most stubbornly contested in which Wellington had yet been engaged, ended in the repulse of the French, and on August 12th the British army marched into Madrid, the capital of Spain, from which King Joseph Bonaparte had just made his second flight.

Wellington's next effort was a siege of the strong fortress of Burgos. This proved the one fruitless effort in his military career; his siege-train was insufficient and the transport for his guns faulty, and he was obliged to raise the siege after over four weeks of effort. In the following year he was strongly reinforced, and with an army numbering nearly 200,000 men, inclusive of Spanish and Portuguese allies, he marched on the retreating enemy, meeting them at Vittoria, near the boundary of France and Spain, on June 21st, 1813. The French were for the first time in this war in a minority.

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They were also heavily encumbered with baggage, the spoils of their occupation of Spain. The battle ended in a complete victory for Wellington, who captured 157 cannon and a vast quantity of plunder, including the spoils of Madrid and of the palace of the kings of Spain, and a million sterling in cash. The French were now everywhere on the retreat. Soult, after a vigorous effort to drive the British from the passes of the Pyrenees, withdrew, and Wellington and his army at length stood on the soil of France. A victory over Soult at Nivelles, and a series of successes in the following spring, ended the long Peninsular War, the abdication of Napoleon closing the terrible drama of battle. In the whole six years of struggle Wellington had not once been defeated on the battle-field.

His military career had not yet ended. His great day of glory was still to come, that in which he was to meet Napoleon himself on the field of Waterloo when, for the first time in the history of the great Corsican, the army of the latter was to be driven back in utter rout.

A year or more had passed since the events just narrated. In June, 1815, Wellington found himself at the head of an army some 106,000 strong, encamped around Brussels, the capital of Belgium. It was a mingled group of British, Dutch, Belgian, Hanoverian, German, and other troops, hastily got together, and many of them not safely to be depended upon. Of the British, numbers had never been under fire. Marshal Blücher, with an equal force of Prussian troops, was near at hand; the two forces prepared to meet the rapidly advancing Napoleon.

There followed a defeat of Blücher at Ligny, and an attack on Wellington at Quatre Bras. On the evening of the 17th the army, retreating from Quatre Bras, encamped on the historic field of Waterloo in a drenching rain, that turned the roads into streams, the fields into swamps. All night long the rain came down, the soldiers enduring the flood with

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what patience they could. In the morning it ceased, fires were kindled and active preparations began for the terrible struggle at hand.

Here ran a shallow valley, bounded by two ridges, the northern of which was occupied by the British troops, some 68,000 strong, while Napoleon posted his army, about 66,000, along the southern ridge. Napoleon was a good deal better off in guns than Wellington, the respective numbers being 242 to 156. On the slope before the British centre was the white-walled farm-house of La Haye Sainte, and in front of the right wing the château of Hougomont, with its various stout stone buildings. Both of these were occupied by men of Wellington's army, and became leading points in the struggle of the day.

It was nine o'clock in the morning before the vanguard of the French forces made its appearance on the crest of the southern ridge. By half-past ten the whole army—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—lay encamped in full sight, and at about ten minutes to twelve came the first attack of that remarkable day, during which the French waged an aggressive battle, and the British stood on the defensive.

This first attack was directed against Hougomont, around which there was a desperate contest. At this point the affray went on, in successive waves of attack and repulse, all day long; yet still the British held the buildings, and all the fierce valour of the French failed to gain them a foothold within.

About two o'clock came a second attack, preceded by a frightful cannonade upon the British left and centre. Four massive columns, led by D'Erlon, poured steadily forward straight for the ridge, sweeping upon and around the farmstead of La Haye Sainte, but met at every point by the sabres and bayonets of the British lines. Nearly 24,000 men took part in this great movement, the struggle lasting more than an hour before the French staggered back in repulse. Then



## NELSON AND WELLINGTON

from the French lines came a stupendous cavalry charge, led by the redoubtable Ney himself, the massive columns composed of no less than forty squadrons of cuirassiers and dragoons, filling almost all the space between Hougomont and La Haye Sainte as they poured like a torrent upon the British lines. Torn by artillery, rent by musketry; checked, reformed; charging again, and again driven back; they expended their strength and their lives on the infantry squares that held their ground with the grimmest obstinacy. Once more, now strengthened by the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, they came on to carnage and death, shattering themselves against those unyielding squares, in the end only to be repulsed with frightful loss.

The day was now well advanced, it being half-past four in the afternoon; the British had been fearfully shaken by the furious efforts of the French; when, emerging from the woods of Fischermont, appeared the head of a column of fresh troops. Who were they? Blücher's Prussians, or Grouchy's pursuing French? On the answer to this question depended the issue of that terrible day. The question was soon decided; they were the Prussians; the hearts of the British beat high with hope and those of the French sank low in despair, for these fresh troops could not fail to decide the fate of that mighty field of battle. Soon the final struggle came. Napoleon, driven to desperation, launched his grand reserve corps, the far-famed Imperial Guard, upon his enemies. On they came, with Ney at their head; on them poured a terrible torrent of flame; from a distance the front ranks appeared stationary, but only because they met a death-line as they came, and fell in bleeding rows. Then came the sharp order from Wellington, "Up, Guards!" and with a wild charge the British Foot Guards took them in flank, and soon all was over. "The Guard dies, but never surrenders," said the commander of the Emperor's Imperial Guard. Die they did, few of them surviving to



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take part in that mad flight which swept Napoleon from the field and closed the fatal day of Waterloo. England had won the great victory, now century-old, and Wellington from that day of triumph took rank with the greatest of British heroes.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE

#### DAWN OF A NEW ERA IN EUROPE

*The Kings and People of Spain : The French defeated and Napoleon in Command : The Triumph of Wellington : Napoleon's Fatal Enterprise : The Grand Army in Russia : Smolensk on Fire : The Fight at Borodino : Moscow occupied by the French : The Terror of Flame : Napoleon's Dread Dilemma : Winter in Full Fury : The Remnant of the Grand Army : Europe rises against the Corsican : Napoleon's Last Important Victory : The Last Stand at Leipzig : Napoleon exiled to Elba : The Hundred Days : End of Napoleon's Career*

AMBITION, unrestrained by caution, uncontrolled by moderation, has its inevitable end. An empire built upon military victory, trusting solely to military genius, prepares for itself the elements of its overthrow. This fact Napoleon was to learn. At the outset of his career he opposed a new art of war to the obsolete one of his enemies, and his path to empire was over the corpses of slaughtered armies and the ruins of fallen kingdoms. But year by year his foes learned his art; in war after war their resistance grew stronger, each successive victory was won with more difficulty and at greater cost; and finally, at the crossing of the Danube, the energy and genius of Napoleon met their equal, and the standards of France, for the first time under Napoleon's leadership, went back in defeat. It was the tocsin of fate. His career of victory had culminated. From that day its decline began.

#### THE KINGS AND PEOPLE OF SPAIN

It is interesting to find that the first effective check to Napoleon's victorious progress came from one of the weaker

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nations of Europe, a power which the conqueror contemned and thought to move as one of the minor pieces in his game of empire. Spain at that time had reached almost the lowest stage of its decline. It had a weak-minded king ; the heir to the throne was little better ; Godoy, the ' Prince of the Peace,' the monarch's favourite, was an ambitious intriguer. Napoleon's armies had invaded Portugal and forced its monarch to embark for Brazil, his American domain. A similar movement was attempted in Spain. This country the base Godoy betrayed to Napoleon, and then, frightened by the consequences of his dishonourable intrigues, sought to escape with the king and court to the Spanish dominions in America. His scheme was prevented by an outbreak of the people of Madrid, and Napoleon, ambitiously designing to add the peninsula to his empire, induced both Charles IV and his son Ferdinand to resign from the throne. He replaced them by his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, who, on June 6th, 1808, was named King of Spain. Hitherto Napoleon had dealt with emperors and kings, whose overthrow carried with it that of their people. In Spain he had a new element, the people itself, to deal with. The very weakness of Spain proved its strength. Deprived of their native monarchs, and given a king not of their own choice, the whole people rose in rebellion and defied Napoleon and his armies. An insurrection broke out in Madrid in which 1200 French soldiers were slain. Juntas were formed in different cities, which assumed the control of affairs and refused obedience to the new king. From end to end of Spain the people sprang to arms and began a guerilla warfare which the troops of Napoleon sought in vain to quell. The bayonets of the French were able to sustain King Joseph and his court in Madrid, but proved powerless to put down the people. Each city, each district, became a separate centre of war ; each had to be conquered separately, and the strength of the troops was consumed in petty contests with

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a people who avoided open warfare and dealt in surprises and scattered fights, in which victory counted for little and needed to be repeated a thousand times.

### THE FRENCH DEFEATED AND NAPOLEON IN COMMAND

The Spanish did more than this. They put an army in the field which was defeated by the French at Valladolid on July 13th; but they revenged themselves brilliantly at Baylen, in Andalusia, four days later, when General Dupont, with a corps 23,000 strong, was surrounded in a position from which there was no escape, and forced to surrender himself and his men as prisoners of war.

This undisciplined people had gained a victory over France which none of the Great Powers of Europe could match. The Spaniards were filled with enthusiasm; King Joseph hastily abandoned Madrid, and the French armies retreated across the Ebro.

Soon encouraging news came from Portugal. The English, hitherto mainly confining themselves to naval warfare and to aiding the enemies of Napoleon with money, had landed an army in that country under Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterward the Duke of Wellington) and other generals, which would have captured the entire French army had it not capitulated on the terms of a free passage to France. For the time being the peninsula of Spain and Portugal was free from Napoleon's power.

The humiliating reverse to his arms called Napoleon himself into the field. In November he marched at the head of an army into Spain, defeated the insurgents wherever met, entered Madrid early in the following month, and reinstated his brother on the throne. The city of Saragossa, which made one of the most heroic defences known in history, was taken, and the advance of the British armies was checked. And yet, though Spain was widely overrun, the people did not yield. The junta at Cadiz defied the French, the



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guerillas continued in the field, and the invaders found themselves baffled by an enemy who was felt oftener than seen.

The Austrian war called away the emperor and the bulk of his troops, but after it was over he filled Spain with his veterans, increasing the strength of the army there to 300,000 men, under his ablest generals, Soult, Masséna, Ney, Marmont, Macdonald, and others. They marched through Spain from end to end, yet, though they held all the important points, the people refused to submit, but from their mountain fastnesses kept up a petty and harassing warfare.

### THE TRIUMPH OF WELLINGTON

We have seen that in 1811 Masséna invaded Portugal, where Wellington with an English army awaited him behind the strong lines of Torres Vedras, which the ever-victorious French sought in vain to carry by assault. Masséna was compelled to retreat, and Soult, by whom the emperor replaced him, was no more successful against the shrewd English general. At length Spain won the reward of her patriotic defence. The Russian campaign of 1812 compelled the emperor to deplete his army in that country, and Wellington came to the aid of the patriots, defeated Marmont at Salamanca, entered Madrid, and forced King Joseph once more to flee from his unquiet throne.

For a brief interval he was restored by the French army under Soult and Suchet, but the disasters of the Russian campaign brought the reign of King Joseph to a final end, and forced him to give up the pretence of reigning over a people who were unflinchingly determined to have no king but one of their own choice. The story of the Spanish war ends in 1813, when Wellington defeated the French at Vittoria, pursued them across the Pyrenees, and set foot upon the soil of France.

# FALL OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE

## NAPOLEON'S FATAL ENTERPRISE

While these events were taking place in Spain the power of Napoleon was being shattered in the north.

On the banks of the Niemen, a river that flows between Prussia and Poland, there gathered near the end of June, 1812, 450,000 of the immense army of more than 600,000 men that Napoleon had gathered together for this campaign, attended by an enormous multitude of non-combatants, their purpose being the invasion of the empire of Russia. Of this great army, made up of troops from half the nations of Europe, there reappeared six months later on that broad stream about 20,000, almost all that were left of that stupendous host. The remainder had perished on the desert soil or in the frozen rivers of Russia, few of them surviving as prisoners in Russian hands. Such was the character of the dread catastrophe that broke the power of the mighty conqueror and delivered Europe from his autocratic grasp. The breach of relations between Napoleon and Alexander was largely due to the arbitrary and high-handed proceedings of the French Emperor, who was accustomed to deal with the map of Europe as if it represented his private domain. He offended Alexander by enlarging the duchy of Warsaw—one of his own creations—and deeply incensed him by extending the French empire to the shores of the Baltic, thus robbing of his dominion the Duke of Oldenburg, a near relative of Alexander. On the other hand the Tsar declined any longer to submit the commercial interests of his country to the rigour of Napoleon's 'continental blockade,' and made a new tariff which interfered with the importation of French and favoured that of British goods. These acts in which Alexander chose to place the interests of his country in advance of those of Napoleon were as wormwood to the haughty soul of the latter, and he determined to punish the Russian autocrat as he had done the other monarchs of Europe.

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For a year or two before war was declared Napoleon had been preparing for the greatest struggle of his life, adding to his army by the most rigorous methods of conscription and collecting great magazines of war material, though still professing friendship for Alexander. The latter, however, was not deceived. He also prepared for the threatened struggle, made peace with the Turks, and formed an alliance with Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, who had good reason to be offended with his former lord and master. Napoleon, on his side, forced Prussia and Austria to ally themselves with him, and added to his army large contingents of troops from the German states. At length the great conflict was ready to begin between the two autocrats, the Emperors of the East and the West, and Europe resounded with the tread of marching feet.

### THE GRAND ARMY IN RUSSIA

In the closing days of June the Grand Army crossed the Niemen, its last regiments reaching Russian soil by the opening of July. Napoleon, with the advance, pressed on to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania. On all sides the Poles rose in enthusiastic hope, and joined the ranks of the man whom they looked upon as their deliverer. Onward went the great army, marching with Napoleon's accustomed rapidity, seeking to prevent the concentration of the divided Russian forces, and advancing daily deeper into the dominions of the Tsar.

The French Emperor had his plans well laid. He proposed to meet the Russians in force on some interior field, win from them one of his accustomed brilliant victories, crush them with his enormous columns, and force the dismayed Tsar to sue for peace on his own terms. But plans need two sides for their consummation, and the Russian leaders did not propose to lose the advantage given them by nature. On and on went Napoleon, deeper and deeper into that



## FALL OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE

desolate land, but the great army he was to crush failed to loom up before him, the broad plains still spread onward empty of soldiers, and disquiet began to assail his imperious soul as he found the Russian hosts keeping constantly beyond his reach, luring him ever more deeply into their vast territory. In truth Barclay de Tolly, the Tsar's chief in command, had adopted a policy which was sure to prove fatal to Napoleon's purpose, that of persistently avoiding battle and keeping the French in pursuit of a fleeting will-o'-the-wisp, while their army wasted away from natural disintegration in that inhospitable clime.

He was correct in his views. Desertion, illness, the death of young recruits who could not endure the hardships of a rapid march in the severe heat of midsummer, began their fatal work. Napoleon's plan of campaign proved a total failure. The Russians would not wait to be defeated, and each day's march opened a wider circle of operations before the advancing host, whom the interminable plain filled with a sense of hopelessness, and increased their already over-long lines of communication. The heat was overpowering, and men dropped from the ranks as rapidly as though on a field of battle. At Vitebsk the army was inspected, and the emperor was alarmed at the enormous decrease in his forces. The whole army was reduced by one-third, and the remaining two-thirds were by no means the efficient fighting material that they had been when they set out on this perilous adventure; some of the divisions had lost more than a fourth of their men, in every corps the ranks were depleted, and reinforcements already had to be set on the march.

Onward they went, here and there bringing the Russians to bay in a minor engagement, but nowhere meeting them in numbers, and taking not a single gun. Europe waited in vain for tidings of a great battle, and Napoleon began to look upon his proud army with a feeling akin to despair. He was not alone in his eagerness for battle. Some of the



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

high-spirited Russians, among them Prince Bagration, were as eager, but as yet the prudent policy of Barclay de Tolly prevailed, and the armies of Russia kept beyond the reach of their foes.

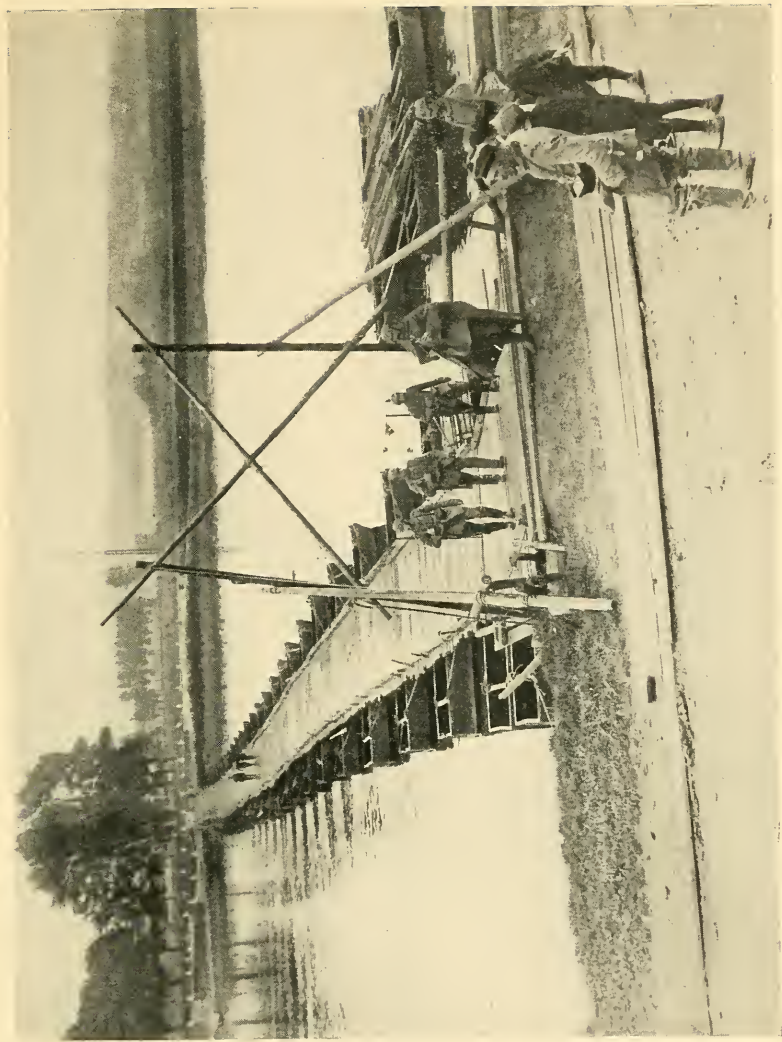
### SMOLENSK ON FIRE

On the 14th of August, the army crossed the Dnieper, and marched, now 175,000 strong, upon Smolensk, which was reached on the 16th. This ancient and venerable town was dear to the Russians, and they made their first determined stand in its defence, fighting behind its walls all day of the 17th. Finding that the assault was likely to succeed, they set fire to the town at night and withdrew, leaving to the French a city in flames. The bridge was cut, the Russian army was beyond pursuit on the road to Moscow, nothing had been gained by the struggle but the ruins of a town.

The situation was growing desperate. For two months the army had advanced without a battle of importance, and was now in the heart of Russia, reduced to half its numbers, while the hoped-for victory seemed as far off as ever. And the short summer of the north was nearing its end. The severe winter of that climate would soon begin. Discouragement everywhere prevailed. Efforts were made by Napoleon's marshals to induce him to give up the losing game and retreat, but he was not to be moved from his purpose. Stubborn adherence to his plans was a marked phase of his character. A march on Moscow, the old capital of the empire, he felt sure would bring the Russians to bay. Once within its walls he hoped to dictate terms of peace.

### THE FIGHT AT BORODINO

Napoleon was soon to have the battle for which his soul craved. Barclay's prudent and successful policy was not to the taste of many of the Russian leaders, and the Tsar



A PONTOON BRIDGE ON THE SCHELDT BUILT BY THE GERMANS

*Photo Alfieri*



## FALL OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE

was at length induced by popular clamour to replace him by fiery old Kutusoff, who had commanded the Russians at Austerlitz. A change in the situation was soon apparent. On the 5th of September the French army, now reduced to 130,000 men, debouched upon the plain of Borodino, on the road to Moscow, and the emperor saw with joy the Russian army drawn up to dispute the way to the 'Holy City' of the Muscovites. The dark columns of troops were strongly entrenched behind a small stream, frowning rows of guns threatened the advancing foe, and hope returned to the emperor's heart. He felt sure that he now had the enemy within his grasp and that victory would turn the situation in his favour.

Battle began early on the 7th, and continued all day long, the Russians defending their ground with unyielding stubbornness, the French attacking their positions with all their old impetuous dash and energy. Murat and Ney were the heroes of the day. Again and again the emperor was implored to send the Imperial Guard and overwhelm the foe, but he persistently refused. "If there is a second battle to-morrow," he said, "what troops shall I fight it with? It is not when one is eight hundred leagues from home that he risks his last resource."

The Guard was not needed. On the following day Kutusoff was obliged to withdraw, leaving no less than 40,000 dead or wounded on the field. Among the killed was the brave Prince Bagration. The retreat was an orderly one. Napoleon found it expedient not to pursue. His own losses aggregated over 30,000, among them an unusual number of generals, of whom ten were killed and thirty-nine wounded. Three days proved a brief time to attend to the burial of the dead and the needs of the wounded. This engagement—which neither side can be said to have really won—is in England usually called the Battle of Borodino, but Napoleon named it the Battle of the Moskwa, from the river that



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crossed the plain, and honoured Ney, as the hero of the day, with the title of Prince of Moskwa.

### MOSCOW OCCUPIED BY THE FRENCH

On the 15th the Holy City was reached. A shout of "Moscow! Moscow!" went up from the whole army as they gazed on the gilded cupolas and magnificent buildings of that famous city, brilliantly lit up by the afternoon sun. Twenty miles in circumference, dazzling with the green of its copper domes and its minarets of yellow stone, the towers and walls of the famous Kremlin rising above its palaces and gardens, it seemed like some fabled city of the Arabian Nights. With renewed enthusiasm the troops rushed toward it, while whole regiments of Poles fell on their knees, thanking God for delivering this stronghold of their oppressors into their hands. It was an empty city into which the French marched; its streets deserted, its dwellings silent. Its busy life had vanished like a morning mist. Kutusoff had marched his army through it and left it to his foes. The inhabitants were gone, with what they could carry of their treasures. The city, like the empire, seemed likely to be a barren conquest, for here, as elsewhere, the policy of retreat, so fatal to Napoleon's hopes, was put into effect. The emperor took up his abode in the Kremlin, within whose ample precincts he found quarters for the whole Imperial Guard. The remainder of the army was stationed at chosen points about the city. Provisions were abundant, the houses and stores of the city being amply supplied. The army enjoyed a luxury of which it had been long deprived, while Napoleon confidently awaited a triumphant result from his victorious progress.

### THE TERROR OF FLAME

A terrible disenchantment awaited the invader. Early on the following morning word was brought him that Moscow

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was on fire. Flames arose from houses that had not been inspected. It was evidently a premeditated conflagration. The fire burst out at once in a dozen quarters, and a high wind carried the flames from house to house, from church to church, from street to street. Russians were captured who boasted that they had fired the town under orders and they met death unflinchingly. The governor had left them behind for this fell purpose. The poorer people, many of whom had remained hidden in their huts, now fled in terror, taking with them what cherished possessions they could carry. Soon the city was a seething mass of flames.

The Kremlin did not escape. A tower burst into flames. In vain the Imperial Guard sought to check the fire. No hose, no fire-engines were to be found in the town; all had been removed by the fleeing inhabitants. Napoleon hastily left the palace and sought shelter outside the city, where for five days the flames ran riot, feeding on ancient palaces and destroying untold treasures. Then the wind sank and rain poured upon the smouldering embers. The great city had become a desolate heap of smoking ruins, into which the soldiers daringly stole back in search of valuables that might have escaped the flames.

This frightful conflagration was not due to the Tsar, but to Count Rostoptchin, the governor of Moscow, who was subsequently driven from Russia by the execrations of those he had ruined. But it served as a proclamation to Europe of the implacable resolution of the Muscovites and their determination to resist to the bitter end, and it robbed Napoleon of what might have been the fruits of his victory.

### NAPOLEON'S DREAD DILEMMA

Napoleon, sadly troubled in soul, sent letters to Alexander, suggesting the advisability of peace. Alexander left his letters unanswered. Until October 18th the emperor waited, hoping against hope, willing to grant almost any terms for

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an opportunity to escape from the fatal trap into which his overweening ambition had led him. No answer came from the Tsar. He was inflexible in his determination not to treat with these invaders of his country. In deep dejection Napoleon at length gave the order to retreat—too late, as it was to prove, since the terrible Russian winter was ready to descend upon them in all its frightful strength.

The army that left that ruined city was a sadly depleted one; it had been reduced to 103,000 men, and many of these were reinforcements which had arrived during the early days of its occupation. The army followers had also become greatly decreased in numbers, but still formed a host, among them delicate ladies, thinly clad, who gazed with terrified eyes from their travelling carriages upon the dejected troops. Articles of plunder of all kinds were carried by the soldiers, even the wounded in the wagons lying amid the spoil they had gathered. The Kremlin was destroyed by the rear-guard, under Napoleon's orders, and over the drear Russian plains the retreat began.

It was no sooner under way than the Russian policy changed. From retreating the troops everywhere advanced, seeking to harass and cut off stragglers, and utterly to destroy the fugitive army if possible. A stand was made at the town of Malojarslavetz, where a sanguinary combat took place. The French captured the town, but ten thousand men lay dead or wounded on the field, while Napoleon was forced to abandon his projected line of march, and to take for his return the route he had followed in his advance on Moscow. From the bloody scene of contest the retreat continued, the battle-field of Borodino being crossed, and by the middle of November the ruins of Smolensk were reached.

### WINTER IN FULL FURY

Winter was now upon the French in all its fury. The food brought from Moscow had been exhausted. Famine, frost,



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and fatigue had proved more fatal than the bullets of the enemy. In fourteen days after the departure from Moscow the army lost 43,000 men, leaving it only 60,000 strong. On reaching Smolensk it numbered but 42,000, having lost 18,000 more within eight days. The unarmed followers are said to have still numbered 60,000. Worse still, the supply of arms and provisions ordered to be ready at Smolensk was in great part lacking, only rye-flour and rice being found. Starvation threatened to aid the winter cold in the destruction of the feeble remnant of the 'Grand Army.'

Onward went the despairing host, at every step harassed by the Russians, who followed like wolves on their path. Ney, in command of the rear-guard, was the hero of the retreat. Cut off by the Russians from the main column, and apparently lost beyond hope, he made a wonderful escape by crossing the Dnieper on the ice during the night and rejoining his companions, who had given up the hope of ever seeing him again.

On the 26th the ice-cold river Beresina was reached, destined to be the most terrible point on the whole dreadful march. Two bridges were thrown in all haste across the stream, and most of the men under arms crossed, but 18,000 stragglers fell into the hands of the enemy. How many were trodden to death in the press or were crowded from the bridge into the icy river cannot be told. It is said that when spring thawed the ice nearly 30,000 bodies were found preserved in it, and burned on the banks of the stream. A mere fragment of the great army remained alive. Ney was the last man to cross that frightful river.

### THE REMNANT OF THE GRAND ARMY

On the 3rd of December Napoleon issued a bulletin which has become famous, telling the anxious nations of Europe that the Grand Army was annihilated, but the emperor was safe. Two days afterward he surrendered the command of the



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army to Murat and set out at all speed for Paris, where his presence was indispensably necessary. On the 13th of December some 20,000 haggard and staggering men, almost too weak to hold the arms to which they still despairingly clung, recrossed the Niemen; and of these only about one-third had been with the Grand Army when it had passed in such magnificent strength and with such abounding resources less than six months before. It was the greatest and most astounding disaster in the military history of the world. This tale of terror may be fitly closed by a dramatic story told by General Mathieu Dumas, who, while sitting at breakfast in Gumbinnen, saw enter a haggard man, with long beard, blackened face, and red and glaring eyes.

"I am here at last," he exclaimed. "Don't you know me?"

"No," said the general. "Who are you?"

"I am the rear-guard of the Grand Army. I have fired the last musket-shot on the bridge of Kovno. I have thrown the last of our arms into the Niemen, and came hither through the woods. I am Marshal Ney."

"This is the beginning of the end," said the shrewd Talleyrand, when Napoleon set out on his Russian campaign. The remark proved true, the disaster in Russia had loosened the grasp of the Corsican on the throat of Europe, and the nations, which hated as much as they feared their ruthless enemy, made active preparations for his overthrow. While he was in France, actively gathering men and materials for a renewed struggle, signs of an implacable hostility began to manifest themselves on all sides in the surrounding states. Belief in the invincibility of Napoleon had vanished, and little fear was entertained of the raw conscripts whom he was forcing into the ranks to replace his slaughtered veterans.

### EUROPE RISES AGAINST THE CORSICAN

Prussia was the first to break the bonds of alliance with France, to ally itself with Russia, and to call its people to

## FALL OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE

arms against their oppressor. They responded with the utmost enthusiasm, men of all ranks and all professions hastened to their country's defence, and the noble and the peasant stood side by side as privates in the same regiment. In March, 1813, the French left Berlin, which was immediately occupied by the Russian and Prussian allies. The King of Saxony, however, refused to desert Napoleon, to whom he owed many favours and whose anger he feared; and his realm, in consequence, became the theatre of the war. Across the opposite borders of this kingdom poured the hostile hosts, meeting in battle at Lützen (May 2nd) and Bautzen (May 21st). Here the French held the field, driving their adversaries across the Oder, but not in the wild dismay seen at Jena. A new spirit had been aroused in the Prussian heart, and they left thousands of their enemies dead upon the field. On the field of Bautzen Napoleon saw with grief the death of his especial friend and favourite, Duroc.

A truce followed, which the French Emperor utilized in gathering fresh levies. Prince Metternich, the able Chancellor of the Austrian empire, sought to make peace, but his demands upon Napoleon were much greater than the proud conqueror was prepared to grant, and he decisively refused to cede the territory held by him as the spoils of war. His refusal brought upon him another powerful foe, Austria allied itself with his enemies, formally declaring war on August 12th, 1813, and an active and terrible struggle began.

### NAPOLEON'S LAST IMPORTANT VICTORY

Napoleon's army was rapidly concentrated at Dresden, upon whose works of defence the allied army precipitated itself in a vigorous assault on August 26th. Its strength was wasted against the vigorously held fortifications of the city, and in the end the gates were flung open and the serried battalions of the Old Guard appeared in battle array. From

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every gate of the city these tried soldiers poured, and rushed upon the unprepared hosts of the allies. Before this resistless charge the enemy recoiled, retreating with heavy loss to the heights beyond the city, and leaving Napoleon master of the field.

On the next morning the battle was resumed. The allies, strongly posted, still outnumbered the French, and had abundant reason to expect victory. But Napoleon's eagle eye quickly saw that their left wing lacked the strength of the remainder of the line, and upon this he poured the bulk of his forces, while keeping their centre and right actively engaged. The result justified the instinct of his genius, the enemy was driven back in disastrous defeat, and once again a glorious victory was inscribed upon the banners of France—the final one in Napoleon's career of fame.

Yet the fruits of this victory were largely lost in the events of the remainder of the month. Blücher brilliantly defeated Marshal Macdonald on the Katzbach, Silesia, in the four days' battle, August 26th to 29th; and on the 30th General Vandamme, with 10,000 French soldiers, was surrounded and captured at Kulm, in Bohemia. The Prusso-Swedish army similarly won a victory on August 25th; on September 6th the Prussians defeated Ney at Dennewitz; and a few weeks afterwards (October 3rd) the Prussian general, Count York, supported by the troops of General Horn, crossed the Elbe in the face of the enemy, and gained a brilliant victory at Wartenburg. Where Napoleon was present victory inclined to his banner. Where he was absent his lieutenants suffered defeat. The struggle was everywhere fierce and desperate, but the end was at hand.

### THE LAST STAND AT LEIPZIG

The rulers of the Confederation of the Rhine now began to desert Napoleon and all Germany joined against him. The first to secede was Bavaria, which allied itself with Austria



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and joined its forces to those of the allies. During October the hostile armies concentrated in front of Leipzig, where was to be fought the decisive battle of the war. The struggle promised was the most gigantic one in which Napoleon had ever been engaged. Against his 170,000 men was gathered a host of 300,000 Austrians, Prussians, Russians, and Swedes.

We have not space to describe the multitudinous details of this mighty 'Battle of the Nations,' which continued with unabated fury for three days, October 17th, 18th, and 19th. It need scarcely be said that the generalship shown by Napoleon in this famous contest lacked nothing of his usual brilliancy, and that he was ably seconded by Ney, Murat, Augereau, and others of his famous generals, yet the overwhelming numbers of the enemy enabled them to defy all the valour of the French and the resources of their great leader, and in the evening of the 18th the armies still faced each other in battle array, the fate of the field yet undecided.

Napoleon was in no condition to renew the combat. During the long affray the French had expended no less than 250,000 cannon-balls. They had but 16,000 left, which two hours' firing would exhaust. Reluctantly the emperor gave the order to retreat, and all that night the wearied and disheartened troops filed through the gates of Leipzig, leaving a rear-guard in the city, who defended it bravely against the swarming multitude of the foe. A disastrous blunder terminated their stubborn defence. Orders had been left to blow up the bridge across the Elster, but the mine was, by mistake, set off too soon, and the gallant garrison, 12,000 in number, with a multitude of sick and wounded, was forced to surrender as prisoners of war. During the three days' fighting Napoleon had lost in killed and wounded 40,000 men, besides 30,000 prisoners; while the allied losses in killed and wounded totalled not far short of 55,000.



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### THE EMPIRE GOES TO PIECES

The end was drawing near. Vigorously pursued, the French reached the Rhine by forced marches, defeating with heavy loss the army of Austrians and Bavarians which sought to block their way. The stream was crossed and the French were once more upon their own soil. After years of contest, Germany was finally freed from Napoleon's long-victorious hosts.

Marked results followed. The carefully organized work of Napoleon's policy quickly fell to pieces. The kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved. The Elector of Hesse and the Dukes of Brunswick and Oldenburg returned to the thrones from which they had been driven. The Confederation of the Rhine ceased to exist, and its states allied themselves with Austria. Denmark, long faithful to France, renounced its alliance in January, 1814. Austria regained possession of Lombardy, the Duke of Tuscany returned to his capital, and the Pope, Pius VII, long held captive by Napoleon, went back in triumph to Rome. A few months sufficed to break down the edifice of empire slowly reared through so many years, and almost all Europe outside of France united itself in hostility to its hated foe.

Napoleon was offered peace if he would accept the Rhine as the French frontier, but his old infatuation and trust in his genius prevailed over the dictates of prudence. He treated the offer in his usual double-dealing way, and the allies, convinced that there could be no stable peace while he remained on the throne, decided to cross the Rhine and invade France.

Blücher led his columns across the river near Coblenz on the last day of 1813, Schwarzenberg marched through Switzerland into France, and soon after Leipzig Wellington had crossed the Pyrenees. Napoleon, like a wolf brought to bay, sought to dispose of his scattered foes before they could unite, and began with Blücher, whom he defeated

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three times in four days. The allies, still in dread of their great opponent, once more offered him peace, but his success robbed him of wisdom, he demanded more than they were willing to give, and his enemies, encouraged by a success gained by Blücher, broke off the negotiations and marched on Paris, now bent on the dethronement of their dreaded antagonist.

### NAPOLEON EXILED TO ELBA

A few words will bring the story of this contest to an end. France was exhausted, its army was incapable of coping with the serried battalions marshalled against it; on March 31st Paris surrendered to the allies, who were already within her gates before Napoleon could come to her defence; two days later Napoleon was formally dethroned, and on April 4th the emperor, vacillating and in despair, signed at Fontainebleau an unconditional act of abdication. The Powers of Europe awarded him as a kingdom the diminutive island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, with an annual income of 2,000,000 francs for himself and a like sum for his family, and gave him an army composed of 400 of his famous Guard. The Bourbon heir to the throne returned as Louis XVIII. France was given back its old frontier of 1792, the foreign armies withdrew from her soil, and the career of the great Corsican seemed at an end.

In spite of their long experience of Napoleon, the event proved that the Powers of Europe knew not all the audacity and mental resources of the man with whom they had to deal. They had made what might have proved a fatal error in giving him an asylum so near the coast of France, whose people, intoxicated with the dream of glory through which he had so long led them, would be sure to respond enthusiastically to an appeal to rally to his support.

The Powers were soon to learn their mistake. While the Congress of Vienna, convened to restore the old constitution

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of Europe, was deliberating and disputing, its members were startled by the news that the dethroned emperor was again upon the soil of France, and that Louis XVIII was in full flight for the frontier. Napoleon had landed on March 1, 1815, and set out on his return to Paris, the army and the people rapidly gathering to his support. On the 20th he entered the Tuileries in a blaze of triumph, the citizens, thoroughly dissatisfied with their brief experience of Bourbon rule, going mad with enthusiasm in their welcome.

### THE HUNDRED DAYS

Thus began the famous period of the 'Hundred Days.' The Powers declared Napoleon to be the 'enemy of nations,' and armed half a million men for his final overthrow. The fate of his desperate attempt was soon decided. For the first time he was to meet the British in battle, and in Wellington to encounter the only man who had definitely made head against his legions. A British army was dispatched in all haste to Belgium, Blücher with his Prussians hastened to the same region, and the mighty final struggle was at hand. The unrelenting enemies of the conqueror of Europe, the islanders of Britain, were to be the agents of his overthrow. The little kingdom of Belgium was the scene of the momentous contest that brought Napoleon's marvellous career to an end. Thither he led his army, largely made up of new conscripts; and thither the English and the Prussians hastened to meet him. On June 16th, 1815, the prelude to the great battle took place. Napoleon met Blücher at Ligny and defeated him; then, leaving Grouchy to pursue the Prussians, he turned against his island foes. On the same day Ney encountered the forces of Wellington at Quatre Bras, but failed to drive them back. On the 17th Wellington took a new position at Waterloo, and awaited there his great antagonist.

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## END OF NAPOLEON'S CAREER

June 18th, 1815, was the crucial day in Napoleon's career, the one in which his power was to fall, never to rise again. The stupendous struggle, as Wellington himself described it, was "a battle of giants." Long the result wavered in the balance. All day long the British sustained the desperate assaults of their antagonists. Terrible was the contest, frightful the loss of life. Hour after hour passed, charge after charge was hurled by Napoleon against the British lines, which still closed up over the dead and stood firm; and it seemed as if night would fall with the two armies unflinchingly face to face, neither of them victor in the terrible fray.

The arrival of Blücher with his Prussians turned the scale. To Napoleon's bitter disappointment Grouchy, who should have been close on the heels of the Prussians, failed to appear, and the weary and dejected French were left to face these fresh troops without support. Napoleon's Old Guard in vain flung itself into the gap, and the French nation long repeated in pride the saying attributed to the commander of this famous corps, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders."

In the end the French army broke and fled in disastrous rout, three-fourths of the whole force being left dead, wounded, or prisoners, while all its artillery became the prize of the victors. Napoleon, pale and confused, was led by Soult from the battle-field. It was his last fight. His abdication was demanded, and he resigned the crown in favour of his son. A hopeless and unnerved fugitive, he fled from Paris to Rochefort, hoping to escape to America. But the British fleet held that port, and in despair he went on board the *Bellerophon*, one of its warships, trusting himself to the mercy of the British nation, which he termed "the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of his enemies." But sympathy with the vanquished adventurer, from whose ambition Europe had suffered so terribly, was



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impossible from the statesmen of England. He was sent as a state prisoner to St Helena, to end his days six years later in that far-away island of the South Atlantic. His final hour of glory came in 1840, when his ashes were brought in pomp to Paris, to find a final and fitting resting-place in the Hôtel des Invalides.

## CHAPTER IX THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

### RADICAL CHANGES IN THE MAP OF EUROPE

*Map-making : Empire-building : Membership of the Congress : Reaction the Order of the Day : Brief Summary of Changes : Excesses of the Congress : Germanic Confederation : How other Countries fared : Character of the Work done : The Rights of the People*

THE terrific struggle of the 'Hundred Days,' which followed Napoleon's return from Elba and preceded his exile to St Helena, made a serious break in the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna, convened by the victorious Powers for the purpose of recasting the map of Europe—which Napoleon had so sadly transformed—of setting aside the radical work of the French Revolution, and, in a word, of turning back the hands of the clock that had been so deplorably misused and overwound by the Corsican. Twenty-five years of such turmoil and volcanic disturbance as Europe had never known were at an end; the ruling powers were secure of their own again; the people, worn out with the long and bitter struggle, welcomed eagerly the return of rest and peace; and the emperors and kings deemed it a suitable time to throw overboard the load of revolutionary ideas under which the European 'Ship of State' had at one time seemed likely to founder.

#### MAP-MAKING

The art of map-making, that of recasting the boundaries of countries and throwing into the waste-heap the carefully prepared maps of the past, is one that frequently goes on side by side with that of war, and is put into effect as one of its most common results. In our days the widening of the borders of victorious countries and narrowing of those of defeated nations is one of the chief of its results, and

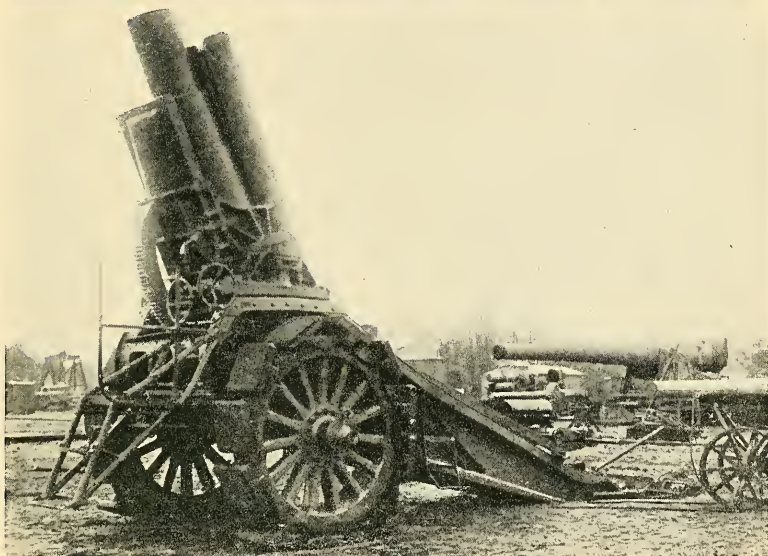
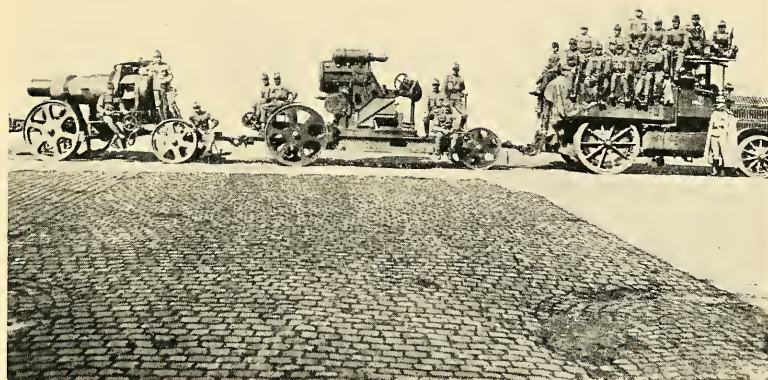
## THE NATIONS AT WAR

numerous instances of it might be cited. Of recent examples may be named the taking of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from France and adding them to Germany in 1871, an injury which France still bitterly resents and to retrieve which became one of the objects of the French people as soon as war was forced upon them in 1914. A second instance of considerable interest was that which followed the Balkan War of 1912-13, in which decided changes in the boundaries of the countries involved took place, one of its results being the founding of a new and turbulent kingdom, that of Albania.

### EMPIRE-BUILDING

In this work of empire-building history presents few instances to compare with that arising from the Napoleonic wars, which led to the boundaries of the empire of France being enormously extended, while the multitude of minor states in Germany were in considerable measure destroyed, their relics being used for the building up of fewer and larger states. As we have already seen, the remnant of the once powerful kingdom of Poland was at this time dismembered and divided between the great robber nations surrounding—Austria, Russia, and Prussia. It would be difficult to find an example of national brigandage surpassing this in political depravity and indignity, since even the ordinary pretence of warlike retribution was lacking. It is something which the Polish people have never forgotten or forgiven, and efforts to placate them and obtain their earnest aid were, as we have seen, made alike by Germany and Russia at the opening of the war of 1914.

We speak of these matters here from the fact that the Congress of Vienna, with which we are now concerned, was convened for the purpose of overthrowing the wholesale map-making of Napoleon and restoring the older condition of affairs so far as appeared possible or desirable. The task



I. AUSTRIAN SIEGE GUN USED IN BELGIUM

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*

II. GERMAN SIEGE GUN

*Photo Record\_Press*





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of the Congress was far from an easy one. Many of the smaller German states could not be restored to their original owners. Those who had benefited by occupying them were sure to protest effectively against giving them up, and all statesmen of sound judgment could not but perceive that Napoleon had done excellent work in destroying the intricate mediæval division of Germany into minor units, much of it the work of robber barons of the past. As for the derelict 'Holy Roman Empire,' to attempt to restore it would be like lifting a fiction into the attitude of a fact. Such was the character of the problem which lay before the members of the Congress that had been convened to try to overthrow the work done by Napoleon's autocratic will.

### MEMBERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress of Vienna, opened in September, 1814, was a brilliant gathering. It included the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Würtemberg; but the leading statesmen of Europe, notably the English Castlereagh and Wellington, the French Talleyrand, the Prussian Hardenberg, and the Austrian Metternich formed its chief working element. Checked in its deliberations for a time by Napoleon's fierce hundred days' death struggle, it quickly settled down to work again, having before it the vast task of undoing the mighty results of a quarter of a century of revolution. For the French Revolution had broadened into a European Revolution, with Napoleon and his armies as its great instruments. The whole continent had been sown thickly with the French ideas of human rights, and a crop of new demands had grown up, not easily to be uprooted.

The exile of Napoleon to Elba had been followed by a treaty at Paris, in which the widely expanded borders of the French empire were forced back within their original limits, France surrendering fifty-eight fortified places still held by its troops,

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12,000 pieces of artillery, and a considerable number of warships. She was, however, allowed to retain possession of the works of art that she had collected from every gallery in Europe, and nearly all the colonies taken from her by Great Britain were restored. After the final Napoleonic downfall at Waterloo a second treaty of Paris had been signed, November 20th, 1815, through which France lost more heavily; some territory was taken, a war indemnity of over £40,000,000 was exacted, works of art were returned to their former owners, and arrangements were made for five years of occupation by 150,000 of the allied forces at the expense of the French.

### REACTION THE ORDER OF THE DAY

Reaction was the order of the day in the Vienna Congress. The kings and statesmen who were gathered together did not properly realize the state of affairs; they saw the disorganization of the old states, but they did not grasp the fact that through the French Revolution first, and afterward through Napoleon, feudalism was dead, and the divine right of kings a doctrine that had been swept into the limbo of the irrecoverable past. In all that they did at this epoch-marking Congress of Vienna, the kings and statesmen acted on the mistaken assumption that these things were still alive, though dormant, and that only energy and a firm hand were necessary to endue them with youth and vigour once more. They saw, however, that their work consisted in so settling the affairs of Europe after their tremendous upheaval as to make a European peace as stable and long-enduring as possible. To do this they decided that the shaken power of the monarchs was to be restored, the map of Europe was to be readjusted, and the people were to be put back into the submissive condition which they had occupied before that eventful 1789, when the States-General of France began its momentous work of destroying the

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equilibrium of the world. As for the people of Europe, deeply infected as they were with the new ideas of liberty and the rights of man, which had made their way far beyond the borders of France, they were for the time worn out with strife and turmoil, and settled back supinely to enjoy the welcome era of rest, leaving their fate for the present in the hands of their plenipotentiaries. That the actual settlement arrived at did enable the nations to confine their warfare to 'police work' for many years to come must weigh very strongly in the balance against those who would condemn the participators in the Congress for selfishness, both in keeping what the force of arms and circumstance had given them and for making alterations in boundaries which were, in some cases, against the wishes of those most intimately concerned, the inhabitants.

All this was, as has been said, no simple task. It was easy to talk about restoring to the nations the territory they had possessed before Napoleon began his career as a map-maker; but it was not easy to do so except at the cost of new wars. There were so many conflicting interests to be sorted out and adjudicated upon, and a false step—one, for instance, that would have entailed upon Austria the relinquishment of Venice, or upon Russia the cession of Poland—would, in the state of public opinion in these countries, have almost inevitably precipitated the whole of Europe into that very war that all the nations were so anxious to avoid.

The territories of many of the Powers had been added to by the French Emperor; in Germany the changes, as already stated, had been enormous. Napoleon had found there more than three hundred separate states, some no larger than an English county, yet each possessed of the paraphernalia of a court and sovereign, a capital, an army, and a public debt. And these were feebly combined into the Holy Roman Empire, which for over one hundred and fifty years had been little more than a phantasm.



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When Napoleon had finished his work this empire had ceased to exist except as a tradition, and the huge number of sovereign states was reduced to thirty-nine. These included the great dominions of Austria and Prussia; the smaller states of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Würtemberg, which Napoleon had raised into kingdoms; and a vastly reduced group of minor states. The work done here it was somewhat dangerous to meddle with. The small potentates of Germany were like so many bulldogs, glaring jealously across their new borders, and ready to fly at one another's throats at any suggestion of a change. The utmost they would yield was to be united into a confederacy called the *Bund*, with a Diet meeting at Frankfort. But, as the delegates to the Diet were given no law-making power, the *Bund* became an empty farce.

### BRIEF SUMMARY OF CHANGES

The Great Powers took care to regain their lost possessions, or to replace them with an equal amount of territory. Prussia and Austria spread out again to their old size, though they did not cover quite the old ground. Most of their domains in Poland were given up, Prussia getting new territory in West Germany and Austria in Italy. These provinces in Poland were ceded to Alexander of Russia, who added them to his own Polish dominions, and formed a new kingdom of Poland, with himself as king. So in a shadowy way Poland was brought to life again.

Great Britain had no territorial claim to make on the continent; it had obtained restitution to its royal house of the Electorate of Hanover, along with some additions of territory; but as Hanover was a male fief, a separation was foreseen that took place in 1837. However, it could well remain satisfied with keeping what it had acquired on the sea during its struggle against the Revolution and the Empire—Heligoland, opposite the mouths of the Elbe and

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the Weser; the protectorate of the Ionian Islands, at the entrance to the Adriatic; Malta, between Sicily and Africa; Santa Lucia and Tobago, in the Antilles; the Seychelles and the Isle of France, in the Indian Ocean; the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and the island of Ceylon. France, while diminished by the increase in power of the four great states, was still a large and important country, and seemed formidable enough for precautions to be taken against it along its frontiers, these having been left open to future invasions. The coalition established as its outposts the following countries: on the north Belgium and Holland, united in a single kingdom under the sceptre of the Prince of Orange; on the north-east the Rhenish country, divided between Prussia, which got the largest share, and Holland, which obtained Luxemburg and Limburg, Hesse-Darmstadt and Bavaria, France's old ally, which was put at its doors to become its enemy. Lastly, in the south the re-establishment of Savoy and Piedmont placed Lyons, France's second capital, within two days' march of the coalition's armies.

In Italy a variety of changes were made. The Pope got back the States of the Church; Tuscany was restored to its king; the same was the case with Naples, King Murat, Napoleon's old marshal, being driven from his throne and put to death. Piedmont, increased by the Republic of Genoa, was restored to the King of Sardinia. Some smaller states were formed, as Parma (which was assigned to Napoleon's Austrian wife, Marie Louise), Modena, and Lucca. Finally Lombardy and Venice, much the richest regions of Italy, were annexed to Austria, which country was made the dominant power in the Italian peninsula.

Louis XVIII, the Bourbon king, brother of Louis XVI, who had reigned while Napoleon was at Elba, came back to the throne of France. The title of Louis XVII had been given to the poor boy, son of Louis XVI, who had died from cruel

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treatment in the dungeons of the Revolution. In Spain the feeble Ferdinand VII, in whose favour his father, Charles IV, had abdicated in 1808, returned to the throne which he had given up without a protest at the command of Napoleon. Portugal was granted a monarch of its old dynasty. All seemed to have drifted back into the old conditions again.

### EXCESSES OF THE CONGRESS

While the four Powers were in accord, there were no ecclesiastical princes, and the free cities were a cheap booty that was divided unscrupulously.

At one time this reapportionment of provinces, however, came near to leading to the rupture of the coalition. Russia and Prussia had come to an understanding that would give the former the whole of Poland and the latter all of Saxony in exchange for its Polish provinces. "Every one must find what suits him," the Tsar had said. But Great Britain, Austria, and France agreed, in a secret treaty, to make this plan fail, and the French ambassador, Talleyrand, succeeded in saving the King of Saxony; but at the same time he compromised France by proposing to give to Prussia, in exchange for the Saxon provinces which it wanted, those of the Rhine, which it did not want.

### THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION

The most difficult matter had been the reconstruction of the Confederation of the Rhine, which had subsisted from 1806 to March 1813, and which was now turned against France under the name of the Germanic Confederation. Long and violent debates in the Congress arose on this subject, the small states making energetic efforts to save their independence. Those who held for German unity, and even Prussia, wished to restore the old empire of Germany. Austria dared not resume the ancient crown of the

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Hapsburgs, and the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg did not mean to let fall from their heads those which Napoleon had placed upon them. Already, when there was question of the spoliation of Saxony, Bavaria had promised thirty thousand men to Talleyrand if France, united with Austria and England, wished to throw Prussia back into Brandenburg and Russia behind the Vistula; and Würtemberg, Hanover, Baden, and Hesse were in accord with this. It was agreed that the Holy Roman Empire destroyed in 1806 could not be restored; and when the news of the return from Elba came, the Germanic Confederation was formed, of which it has been irreverently said that "a hut to shelter Germany during the storm was built in great haste, a wretched shelter which the princes themselves destroyed later on." This Confederation was to be composed of thirty-nine states sending deputies to a diet at Frankfort, the perpetual presidency of which would devolve on Austria.

That diet was to consist of two assemblies, the ordinary, with seventeen votes (that is, one vote for each of the large states, and one also for each of the groups into which the small states had been arranged), and the general assembly, in which each state had a number of votes in proportion to its importance, in all sixty-nine votes. The former would decide current business; the latter was to be convened whenever there was question of the fundamental laws or of the great interests of the federal pact. The Confederates would retain their sovereign independence, their armies, and their diplomatic representation. But the Confederation would also have its own army and fortresses, these to be built out of the indemnity paid by France—Luxemburg, Mayence, and Landau, to close against France the approach to the Rhine; Rastadt and Ulm, to keep it at the foot of the Black Forest or from the valley of the Danube.



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### HOW THE OTHER COUNTRIES FARED

In Switzerland, Geneva and Vaud were enlarged at the expense of France with a part of the Gex country and some communes of Savoy; Valais, Geneva, and Neuchâtel, added to the nineteen old cantons, formed the Helvetic Confederation, which the Congress placed under the guarantee of perpetual neutrality. In Italy, as we have seen, the King of the Two Sicilies and the Pope recovered what they had lost; but Austria again became omnipotent in the peninsula. Mistress of the Milanese and Venetia, it made sure of the right bank of the Po by the privilege of putting a garrison in Piacenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio; it had placed an archduke on the throne of Tuscany, stipulated the reversion to the imperial crown of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, ceded for life to the ex-Empress Marie Louise, and of that of Modena, given to an Austrian prince. In the last place, though he had received Genoa and Savoy, the King of Piedmont, poorly defended by the Ticino frontier, seemed at the mercy of his formidable neighbour. In the north of Europe Sweden, in compensation for Finland allotted to Russia, received Norway taken from Denmark, which was to obtain in compensation Swedish Pomerania and Rugen; but Prussia, bitter against that small state, the only one that had remained faithful to France's fortunes, imposed on it the exchange of these countries for Lauenburg. That duchy, like Holstein, was, moreover, but the personal domain of the king, who, with regard to these two German provinces, became a member of the Germanic Confederation, that is, of a state organised against France. Denmark in 1864 and France in 1870 were to feel the effect of these artificial combinations.

### CHARACTER OF THE WORK DONE

The Germanic Confederation seemed well adapted to assuring the peace of the continent by separating three great military

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states. The mutual jealousies of Austria and Prussia, the distrust of the small states in regard to the large ones, the delays resulting from the complicated play of the Germanic Institutions, forearmed Germany against sudden impulses. Between three countries of rapid action, Russia turning to account ideas of race and religion to the advantage of an age-long policy, Great Britain busied with building up and keeping her commerce, and France too prostrate to precipitate revolutions, Germany, the classic land of long negotiations, could interpose a temporizing spirit. By the very nature of its institutions, living on perpetual compromises, the Confederation represented in European affairs the spirit of arrangement, which is that of diplomacy. But, to render effective service to the peace of the world, this Confederation—organized for defence and not for attack, and independent of Berlin as well as of Vienna—should have formed a real Germany, neither French as in the time of Napoleon, nor Prussian as it has been for more than a generation.

The two Great Powers meant, on the contrary, to put their strength at the service of their interests. Austria, occupying but a strip of German territory at its border, would remain satisfied with exerting influence at Frankfort. Prussia would want more. As it needed Hanover to unite its Rhenish province with Brandenburg, and as it needed a slice of Poland to connect the Electorate with the countries of the Teutonic order, so it would make itself ever more and more German; it would cause to be said everywhere, in the pulpit and in the press, that it was the hope, the personification of the German party, and one day it would drive Austria out of Germany, another day it would take Frankfort, nay, even the Diet, and it would lead the Germanic Confederation to suicide, becoming its sole legatee. But at this period, 1815, Prussia was far from having a dream of this greatness. It had, as yet, no Bismarck, the man whose unscrupulous hand was to lead it to the goal of its ambition.

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### THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

As for the rights of the people, in these varied changes, what had become of them? Had they been swept away and the old wrongs of the people been brought back? Not quite. The frenzied enthusiasm for liberty and human rights of the past twenty-five years could not go altogether for nothing. The lingering relics of feudalism had vanished, not only from France but from all Europe, and no monarch or congress could bring them back again. In its place the principles of democracy had spread from France far among the peoples of Europe. The principle of class privilege had been destroyed in France, and that of social equality had replaced it. The principle of the liberty of the individual, especially in his religious opinions, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, had been proclaimed. These had still a battle before them. They needed to fight their way. Absolutism and the spirit of feudalism were arrayed against them. But they were too deeply implanted in the minds of the people to be eradicated. They had been carried by the armies of France throughout Europe and deeply planted in a hundred places, and their establishment as actual conditions was the most important part of the political development of the nineteenth century.

Revolution was the one thing that the Great Powers of Europe feared and hated; this was the monster against which the Congress of Vienna directed its efforts. The cause of quiet and order, the preservation of the established state of things, the authority of rulers, the subordination of peoples, must be firmly maintained, and revolutionary disturbers must be put down with a strong hand. Such was the political dogma of the Congress. And yet, in spite of its assembled wisdom and the principles it promulgated, the century that followed was especially the century of revolutions, the result being an extraordinary increase in the liberties and prerogatives of the people.



## CHAPTER X

### FURTHER RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE WORLD-WIDE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

*The Grand Alliance : The Holy Alliance : Reaction and Rearrangement : Revolution in Spain and Naples : Work of the Alliance in Italy : The Spanish Revolt put down : The Allies gain Freedom for Greece : Liberty for Spanish-America : The Birth of the Monroe Doctrine*

THE treaty signed by the nations at the Congress of Vienna, which came to a close in June, 1815, was to all intents and purposes but a ratification and renewal of treaties entered into by Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia in the previous year, and had as its chief aim the protection of Europe from any further acts of aggression on the part of France, and the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe as arranged at the Congress.

Thus the "Grand Alliance" came into being, a definite body with definite aims that were founded on definite treaties.

But side by side with it there grew up another body whose aims were neither definite nor founded on definite treaties, namely, the "Holy Alliance." The idea of this sprang from the brain of Alexander I, Tsar of Russia. He was at the time much under the influence of a group of mystics, and they had instilled into him the notion that if only the great monarchs of Europe would agree to live on the purest Christian terms with one another they could not only do so, but could force the smaller nations to do so too, and all would be well for ever.

So in September, while still at Paris, the Tsar issued his manifesto to his brother rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain. The opening paragraph gives the note, setting forth that their Majesties of Austria, Prussia, and



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Russia had realized that the steps to be observed by the Powers in their relations were to be settled "upon the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Saviour teaches." After laying down that the three contracting monarchs "will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity" it goes on to say that they look upon themselves as "merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, thus confessing that the Christian world of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power in truth belongs." A recommendation to their people "to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind" follows, and this most extraordinary, but altogether sincere 'Treaty' ends with an intimation that all other Powers who are in agreement with these principles "will be received with equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance."

The manifesto was sent to every ruler in Europe with the exception (for obvious reasons) of the Pope and the Sultan of Turkey. And it was signed by all—except Great Britain; though it is doubtful whether any one of them outside the Tsar and possibly the King of Prussia did so from a sense of conviction. Great Britain refrained from signing because the document was of too nebulous a nature to be of any use—"a soul without a body"—and also because her statesmen saw that it gave too wide and dangerous a loophole to the future interference of any nation in any other nation's internal affairs. It was largely through the lack of her powerful support that the Holy Alliance did not come to greater prominence.

### REACTION AND REARRANGEMENT

Although its intentions were so pure the Holy Alliance soon came to be looked upon as the cause of the oppression and

## FURTHER RESULTS OF CONGRESS

reaction that followed ; but this was really the result of the Quadruple, or Grand, Alliance and had little or nothing to do with the former, which the Tsar wished to put in place of the committee of the Great Powers. This is its chief significance ; its actual results can be seen in later European diplomacy, especially in its influence on Nicholas I of Russia, and on his great-grandson, Nicholas II, whose rescript which resulted in the first International Peace Congress in 1899 was undoubtedly inspired by it.

After so long a period of war and upheaval a certain amount of reaction and rearrangement was inevitable. The former too often manifested itself in an endeavour to revive the principles of absolute government, while as for the latter the Grand Alliance, as we have seen, divided Europe on new lines, often with an indifference to the aspirations of the peoples, or the rights of the former or present rulers, that was born of the desire to put off the evil day that would usher in another war for as long a period as possible. Thus Belgium was forcibly attached to Holland, in utter disregard of Belgian public opinion. Italy was in the same arbitrary way handed over to Austria, with equal disregard of public sentiment. With so little foresight, however, had the allies done their work that the edifice they thus laboriously built was in the smaller countries quickly shaken by the hand of revolt ; so rudely indeed that it rapidly began to fall to pieces, and in little over half a century had disappeared.

It was not long before the people began to move. The attempt to re-establish absolute governments shook them out of their sluggish quiet. Revolution lifted its head, its first field being Spain. Ferdinand VII, on returning to his throne, had but one purpose in his weak mind, which was to rule as an autocrat, as his ancestors had done. He swore to govern according to a constitution, and began his reign with a perjury. The patriots had formed a constitution during his absence, and this he set aside and failed to replace

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by another. On the contrary, he set out to abolish all the reforms made by Napoleon, and to restore the monasteries, to bring back the Inquisition, and to prosecute the patriots. Five years of this reaction made the state of affairs in Spain so intolerable that the Liberals refused to submit to it any longer. In 1820 they rose in revolt, and the king, a coward under all his show of bravery, at once gave way and restored the constitution he had set aside.

### REVOLUTION IN SPAIN AND NAPLES

The shock given to the Great Powers by the news from Spain was quickly followed by another coming from Naples. The Bourbon king who had been replaced upon the throne of that country, another Ferdinand, was one of the most despicable men of his not greatly esteemed race. His government, while weak, was harshly oppressive. But it did not need a revolution to frighten this royal dastard. A mere general celebration of the victory of the Liberals in Spain was enough, and in his alarm he hastened to give his people a constitution similar to that which the Spaniards had gained.

These awkward affairs sadly disturbed the equanimity of those statesmen who fancied that they had fully restored the divine right of kings, and of the monarchs who held that they were called upon by God to govern their subjects in their own way. Metternich, the Austrian advocate of reaction, hastened to call a new Congress, in 1820, and another in 1821. The question he put to these assemblies was: Should revolution be permitted, or should Europe interfere in Spain and Naples, and pledge herself to uphold everywhere the sacred powers of legitimate monarchs? His old friends of the Holy Alliance backed him up in this latter suggestion, both Congresses adopted it, a policy of repression of revolutions became the programme, and Austria was charged to restore what Metternich called 'order' in Naples.

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While those at the head of affairs were thus engaged in formulating their views, the demand for liberty and human rights was growing more insistent among the people, secret revolutionary societies were widely formed, and a perilous insurrectionary spirit was evidently abroad. The result was a determination in the minds of the monarchs to proceed against this growing anarchy before it gained too great headway, and to begin by putting down the revolutionists in the two kingdoms in which they had recently triumphed, Spain and Naples.

### WORK OF THE ALLIANCE IN ITALY

There was no evident intention to make a distinction between just grievances and inopportune demands. The revolutions in Greece (against her Turkish oppressors), Spain, Naples, and Turin were represented in a circular note "as being of the same origin and worthy of the same fate." If no measure was taken against the Greeks, it was because the people of Russia refused to take up arms on behalf of the Mussulmans against their co-religionists. As for Italy, Austria took it upon herself to destroy there "the false doctrines and criminal associations that have called down upon rebellious peoples the sword of justice."

A numerous army, which was to be followed by one hundred thousand Russians, in case of need, set out from Lombardo-Venetia. At Rieti and Novara Pepe's and Santa Rosa's recruits could not hold out against the veterans of the great wars of the empire, and the Austrians entered Naples, Turin, and Messina. Behind them the jails were filled and scaffolds were erected. There were sixteen thousand at one time in the prisons of the two Sicilies, and in 1822 there were also witnessed in the kingdom nine cases of capital punishment for political offences. In Piedmont all the leaders who could be caught were decapitated—the others were executed in effigy. No insurrection had broken out in the States of the



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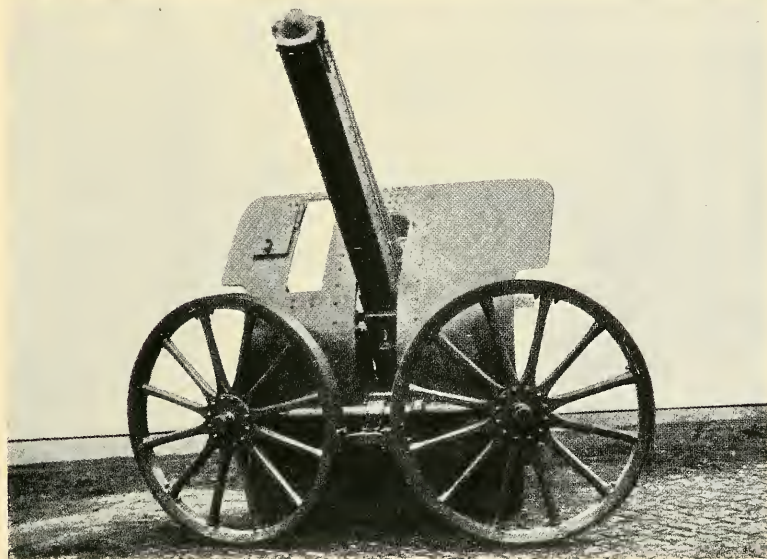
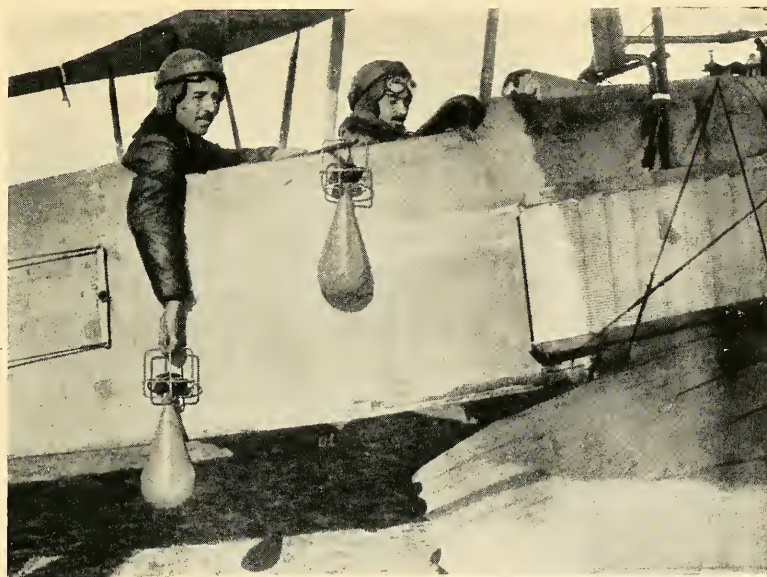
Church, properly so called ; yet four hundred persons were imprisoned there, and many were condemned to death, but the Pope commuted the sentence. The notable Piedmontese, Silvio Pellico, has told with the gentleness of a martyr what tortures were added to captivity by that pitiless policy.

### THE SPANISH REVOLT PUT DOWN

Beyond the Pyrenees savage outrages had been perpetrated on both sides. To dispel the suspicions which France had for a moment inspired by its hesitancy regarding Austrian intervention in Italy, Louis XVIII's government asked permission to suppress in Spain agitations that threatened to reach the southern departments of France. Great Britain held aloof because, in the first place, Spain was itself divided on the matter of the constitution, and in the second, if she had intervened she would have found herself at war with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, none of which could have tolerated a triumph for the constitution.

The French army, commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, entered Spain on April 7th, 1823. It had few occasions to fight, and encountered serious resistance only at Cadiz, which it besieged. On August 31st it captured by assault the strong position of the Trocadero, and this success brought about the surrender of the city. The army carried its liberal spirit into Spain. Its officers opened the prisons confining men whose crime was the spreading of ideas similar to those of France, and Angoulême sought to prevent acts of violence on the part of a royalist reaction, and to stop arbitrary arrests and executions.

But Ferdinand did not mean that his saviours should impose conditions on him. The military commissions were implacable. Riego, a leader of the conspiracy against the king, seriously wounded, was carried to the gibbet on a hurdle drawn by an ass ; at one and the same place fifty-



I. DROPPING A BOMB FROM AN AEROPLANE

*Photo Record Press*

II. TWELVE-POUNDER ANTI-AIRCRAFT KRUPP GUN FIXED FOR ACTION

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*



## FURTHER RESULTS OF CONGRESS

two companions of a *cabecilla* (leader of rebels) were put to death. A counter-revolution was effected at Lisbon as well as at Madrid. There the king declared the constitution abolished and restored absolute power for a few months. Despite the congratulations sent by the secular rulers and the Pope to the honest but not brilliant French prince who had led this easy campaign, the elder branch of the Bourbons failed to gain enough military glory by it to become reconciled with the country. Men saw in that expedition only French soldiers placed at the service of a knavish and cruel king, and the finances of France saddled with an expense of £200,000,000. But small as it was, success inspired the reactionist ministry with a confidence in their plans, which the elections, held under a peculiarly restrictive law, further increased by admitting to the Chamber only nineteen Liberal Deputies.

### THE ALLIES GAIN FREEDOM FOR GREECE

Only in two regions did the spirit of revolt triumph during this period of reaction. These were Greece and Spanish America. The historic land of Greece had long been in the hands of a despotism with which even the most reactionary of the European sovereigns was not in sympathy—that of Turkey. Its very name, as a modern country, had almost vanished, and Europe heard with astonishment in 1821 that the dwellers in the land of the ancient Greeks had risen against the tyranny under which they had been crushed for centuries.

The struggle was a bitter one. The Sultan was atrocious in his cruelties. In the island of Chios alone he brutally murdered 20,000 Greeks. But the spirit of the old Athenians and Spartans was in the people, and they kept on fighting in the face of defeat. For four years this went on, while the Powers of Europe looked on without raising a hand. Some of their people indeed took part, among them Lord Byron,



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who died in Greece in 1824; but the governments failed to warm up to their duty.

In fact, the governments, even the British, at first condemned the revolt of the Greek patriots. The view of British statesmen was that the struggle for Greek liberty compromised the existence of Turkey, the preservation of which was thought to be essential to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. The tendency, not only in Great Britain but in other quarters as well, was to believe that the struggle of barbarians against barbarians was not a sufficient cause for interference. Russia particularly was placed in an awkward predicament, not being able to determine between a refusal to abjure her principles of suppressing all revolution and going to the assistance of her Moslem-ridden co-religionists. Great Britain's hesitation was due to her determination to avoid another European war at any cost consistent with honour, and her apparent indifference to the fate of the Greeks was really nothing more than a manifestation of her great solicitude for the fate of Europe as a whole.

Russia and the other signatories to the Holy Alliance saw in that insurrection only a revolt, and, by a strange application of the doctrine of divine right, pretended that their principle of legitimacy had to protect the throne of the head of the Osmanlis. "Do not say Greeks," Nicholas said one day in 1826 in answer to Wellington, who was speaking to him of England's sympathy for them; "do not say Greeks, but insurgents against the Sublime Porte. I will no more protect their revolt than I would wish to see the Porte protect a sedition among my subjects."

Yet a few months later these words were superseded by acts far from being in keeping with them. There had been a massacre of Mussulmans in the Morea, and in revenge the Sultan had caused the head of the Orthodox Greek Church, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and two of his bishops to be hanged at the city gates. In Russia, as elsewhere,

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opinion in favour of the Hellenes was becoming irresistible ; the whole of Liberal Europe espoused an heroically supported cause for national independence and religion. Sympathy was aroused, even among the Conservatives, by the magical name Greece and by the struggle of Christians against Mussulmans ; and in France as well as in England the finger of scorn would have been pointed at him who would not applaud the legendary exploits of Niketas, Bozzaris, and Canaris, bold chiefs who led their palikars against the thickest ranks of the janizaries and their fireships into the midst of the hostile squadrons. It had become necessary that the politicians should swim with the current of public opinion. Russia was contemplating a move toward putting a stop to the war, and the extreme inadvisability of her being allowed to settle affairs in the Near East entirely to her own liking, combined with an earnest appeal from the Greeks themselves, induced Canning, the British Prime Minister, to give up his policy of non-interference. And, quite apart from the merits of the case as between Christian and Turk, England was growing uneasy for the security of the shores of the Mediterranean, to which commerce was about to return. In that sea it had indeed formidable supports in Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands ; but these were fortresses, not provinces, and it was important for the security of the British interests in the Mediterranean that the rulers of Russia should not gain the mastery at Constantinople as those of Austria had done at Milan, Rome, and Naples, and the Bourbon royal family at Madrid.

The diversity of opinion and of interests, with the steady pressure upon national politics of an awakened public demand for Greek liberty, reached a desirable result in 1827, when the three most interested Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia, covenanted to put an end to the war of extermination then proceeding in the Peloponnesus through

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the barbarity of Ibrahim Pasha, son of the Viceroy of Egypt.

The allied squadrons of the three Powers attacked the Ottoman fleet in Navarino Bay on October 20th, 1827. The battle ended in an easy victory for the Allies, and the Ottoman fleet ceased to exist. It did not bring to an end the determination of the Turks to put down the insurgent Greeks, the maritime war being followed by one on land. Russia declared war against Turkey April 26th, 1828, and France sent 15,000 troops to the Morea to terminate the persistent Greek question, which then threatened to give rise to international complications.

The long struggle of the Greeks for liberty, which they would have been unable to gain without external aid, culminated on the 3rd of February, 1830, when a protocol of the allied Powers proclaimed their independence. The Porte, unable longer to continue the struggle against its enemies, recognized Greek independence on April 25th, 1830, and Greece was added to the states of Europe. A kingdom was established under Prince Otho of Bavaria (February 1st, 1833), whose rule was for a time practically absolute, years passing before a system of constitutional government was granted. Otho held the throne, with steadily growing unpopularity, until 1863, when he was compelled to abdicate, being succeeded by Prince William George of Denmark as King George I, who reigned until March, 1913, when he was shot in the streets of Salonica by a Greek imbecile. He was succeeded by his son, Constantine.

### LIBERTY FOR SPANISH AMERICA

The story of the struggle for liberty in Spanish America, with its gradual attainment during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, does not come within the scope of this work, except as an example of the prevalence of the desire for liberty throughout the civilized world, which in America

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had replaced the often barbarous rule of Spain with a series of republics, copies of that of the great exemplar of republican government, the United States. Here, however, is a matter worthy of consideration, as one of the last manifestations of vitality in the Holy Alliance.

Not content with its attempts at 'fraternal' work on the European continent, the moribund Holy Alliance, or more properly the Powers that had been signatory to it, turned an observing eye on the great continent across the Atlantic, in which there seemed a promising field for its benevolent interposition. Spain had met with severe reverses in America, retaining of its once vast colonial empire on that continent only the two islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. It naturally desired to regain the lost provinces, and King Ferdinand turned for aid to the great anti-liberal alliance. The members of the alliance, which now included France, viewed the proposition favourably. It promised to add materially to the territory under their system of government, the God-given one, as they maintained, and also to enable each of them to add to its colonial possessions. The King of Spain, small in mental calibre as he was, did not imagine that all his old territory would be returned to him. He knew well that the allies would pay themselves liberally for any service rendered him, and that he would have to be content with the portion they chose to leave him. If they should undertake to pull his chestnuts from the fire they doubtless meant to keep a due share of the fruit.

### THE BIRTH OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

This scheme did not long remain a secret. George Canning, at that time British Minister for Foreign Affairs, discovered what was in view and did not approve of it. In a famous speech in the House of Commons he early announced Great Britain's recognition of the independence of the South American republics, thus, as he phrased it,



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“calling in the New World to redress the balance of the Old.”

The British realm at that time had an active trade with the former Spanish colonies and this would be sure to decrease materially in the event of the territory of these colonies falling into the hands of the members of the Holy Alliance. Canning informed the American Government of what was in the wind, and suggested that Britain and the United States should join in checking this proposed action.

It was anything but welcome news to the United States. There was reason to believe that France would claim Cuba for her share of the spoils, thus securing not only a new foothold in America but a rich island very near the United States coast. There was also trouble brewing in the Pacific, where Russia held Alaska and claimed coastal possessions in that locality reaching nearly to San Francisco, and also declared that it had the right to keep the vessels of other nations out of the North Pacific.

It was this state of affairs that gave rise to the famous ‘Monroe Doctrine,’ which, in this way therefore, was a direct outgrowth of the purpose of the Holy Alliance. Canning’s suggestion that the United States and Great Britain should join hands in dealing with this project did not appeal to President Monroe, who was an advocate of Washington’s suggestion to avoid entangling alliances with any European Power. As it was, then, he acted for the United States alone, under the advice of John Quincy Adams, his Secretary of State, and Thomas Jefferson, a former president and one of America’s shrewdest statesmen. The result of their conference was the issue in December, 1823, of the ‘Monroe Doctrine,’ a declaration of policy that has more than once been effectively applied and which still exists in full force, though Mr. Taft’s utterance during the Great European War of 1914 to the effect that there is nothing in the doctrine to prevent a German invasion of

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Canada, provided that an attempt at annexation of territory does not follow, has been taken as evidence that there is a tendency in the United States to give up the vaguer clauses of the doctrine and keep solely to its main object.

One of the phrases of this celebrated doctrine—"The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers"—was specially directed against the colonizing purposes of Russia. Its concluding phrase reads: "With the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by a European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This evidently was intended to warn off nations in general from meddling in American matters. It was effective so far as the Alliance was concerned. Its projects fell dead, and with their death the Holy Alliance ceased to play any part in European politics.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

ITS DISINTEGRATING EFFECT ON NATURAL CONDITIONS

*Reaction under Charles X : " Down with the Bourbons " : Louis Philippe on the Throne : Separation of Holland and Belgium : Popular Movements in Germany and Italy : Poland in Arms : Prosperity in Great Britain : An Intolerable Situation : Representation in Parliament : Lord Russell's Great Speech : The Old House of Commons : The Struggle for Reform : How Suffrage was gained : The Corn Laws repealed*

THE work of the Alliance outside of Greece had been measurably complete. Revolution, wherever else in Europe it ventured to show its head, had been ruthlessly put down. But though complete in the countries concerned, it was destined to prove temporary. The blessing of liberty, once enjoyed, could not so easily be taken away.

The people merely bided their time. The good seed sown could not fail to bear fruit in its season. The spirit of revolution was in the air, and any attempt to rob the people of the degree of liberty which they enjoyed was very likely to precipitate a revolt against the tyranny of courts and kings. It came at length in France, that country being the ripest among the nations for revolution. Louis XVIII, an easy, good-natured old soul, of kindly disposition toward the people, passed from life in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, Count of Artois, as Charles X.

#### REACTION UNDER CHARLES X

The new king had been the head of the ultra-royalist faction, an advocate of despotism and feudalism, and quickly doubled the hate which the people bore him. Louis XVIII had been liberal in his policy, and had given increased privileges to the people. Under Charles reaction set in. A vast sum of

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money (£40,000,000) was voted to the nobles to repay their losses during the Revolution. Steps were taken to muzzle the press and gag the universities. This was more than the Chamber of Deputies was willing to do, and it was dissolved. But the tyrant at the head of the government went on, blind to the signs in the air, deaf to the people's voice. If he could not get laws from the Chamber he would make them himself in the old arbitrary fashion, and on July 25th, 1830, he issued, under the advice of his Prime Minister, a series of decrees, which limited the list of voters and put an end to the freedom of the press. Practically, the constitution was set aside, the work of the Revolution ignored, and absolutism re-established in France.

### “DOWN WITH THE BOURBONS”

King Charles had taken a step too far. He did not know the spirit of the French. In a moment Paris blazed into insurrection. Tumult arose on every side. Workmen and students paraded the streets with enthusiastic cheers for the constitution. But under their voices there were soon heard deeper and more ominous cries. “Down with the ministers!” came the demand. And then, as the throng increased and grew more violent, arose the revolutionary slogan, “Down with the Bourbons!” The infatuated old king was amusing himself in his palace of St Cloud, and did not discover that the crown was tottering upon his head.

He knew that the people of Paris had risen, but looked upon it as a passing ebullition of French temper. He did not awake to the true significance of the movement until he heard that there had been fighting between his troops and the people, that many of the citizens lay dead in the streets, and that the soldiers had been driven from the city, which remained in the hands of the insurrectionists.

Then the deluded autocrat, who had fondly fancied that the Revolution of 1789 could be set aside by a stroke of his pen,



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made frantic efforts to lay the demon he had called into life. He hastily cancelled the tyrannical decrees. Finding that this would not have the desired effect, he abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson. But all was of no avail. France had had enough of him and his house. His envoys were turned back from the gates of Paris unheard. Remembering the fate of Louis XVI, his unhappy brother Charles X turned his back upon France and hastened to seek a refuge in England.

France has long been the seed-bed of revolution. That strenuous and excitable people, who had won liberty by striking for it with all their strength in 1789, were not to let it be torn from their grasp by the weak-minded and aged brother of the king they had sent to the guillotine. As the effect of the Revolution of 1789 was to stir up all Europe and make itself felt over half the world, the same was the case with the two subsequent revolutions which had their starting-point in Paris, those of 1830 and 1848. With the former of these we are here concerned.

It might be supposed that the citizens of Paris, on getting rid of their incapable monarch, would have decided that they had had sufficient experience of kings and have re-established the republic which Napoleon had set aside. But such was not the case. A meeting of prominent citizens was called, and after deliberating on the situation, they decided that Charles X should be deposed and his heirs declared ineligible to the throne, but that another king should be selected to replace him; and the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans.

### LOUIS PHILIPPE ON THE THRONE

There had been a Louis Philippe concerned in the Revolution of 1789 and its succeeding events, a radical member of the royal house of Bourbon, who joined the revolutionists under the title of 'Égalité,' took part in many of their movements

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and voted with the revolutionary tribunal for the death of Louis XVI. Yet the fact of his connection with the hated royal family could not be overlooked and in the end he shared the fate of his royal kinsman, having his own head cut off by the guillotine.

He left a son, who as a young man served in the army of the Revolution and had been one of its leaders in the important victory of Jemmapes. But when the Terror came he hastened from France, which had become a very unsafe place for one of his blood. He had the reputation of being liberal in his views, and was the first man thought of for the vacant crown, as indeed he was the only man fit and qualified to receive it. He was at once appointed Lieutenant-General, and when the Chamber of Deputies met in August and definitely offered him the crown, with true patriotism he did not hesitate to undertake the difficult duties that its acceptance would entail. He swore to observe and reign under the constitution, and took the throne with the title of Louis Philippe, King of the French. Thus speedily and happily ended the second Revolution in France.

But Paris again proved itself the political centre of Europe. The deposition of Charles X was like a stone thrown into the seething waters of European politics, and its effects spread far beyond the borders of France. The nations had been bound hand and foot by the treaties that followed on the Congress of Vienna. The people had writhed uneasily in their fetters, but now in more than one locality they rose in their might to break them, here demanding a greater degree of liberty, there overthrowing the government.

### SEPARATION OF HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

The latter was the case in Belgium. Its people, as already stated, had suffered severely from the work of the Congress of Vienna. Without consulting their wishes, their country had been incorporated with Holland as the kingdom of the

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Netherlands, the two countries being fused into one under a king of the old Dutch House of Orange. The idea was a good one in itself. It was intended to make a kingdom strong enough to help keep France in order. But an attempt to fuse these two states was like an endeavour to mix oil and water. The people of the two countries had long before drifted apart from each other, and had irreconcilable ideas and interests. Holland was a colonizing and commercial country, Belgium an industrial country; Holland was Protestant, Belgium Catholic; Holland was Teutonic in blood, Belgium a mixture of Teutonic and French, but wholly French in feeling and customs.

The Belgians, therefore, were generally discontented with the act of fusion, and in 1830 they imitated the French by a revolt against King William of Holland. A tumult followed in Brussels, which ended in the Dutch soldiers being driven from the city. King William, finding that the Belgians insisted on independence, decided to bring them back to their allegiance by force of arms. The Powers of Europe now took the matter in hand; they held a conference in London, brought about an armistice between the Dutch and the Belgians, and finally, by altogether peaceful means, obliged the unwilling king to agree to the separation of Holland and Belgium. Boundaries and financial matters were arranged shortly after, and in June, 1831, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the uncle and for many years greatest friend and chief adviser of Queen Victoria, was by popular vote elected king. Since that date Holland and Belgium have gone their own separate ways.

### POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

The spirit of revolution also extended into Germany and Italy, but there with smaller results. Neither in Austria nor Prussia did the people stir, but in many of the smaller German states a demand was made for a constitution on 188



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liberal lines, and in every instance the princes had to give way. Each of these states gained a representative form of government, the monarchs of Prussia and Austria alone retaining their old despotic power. It was a step toward popular government, but only a step.

In Italy there were many signs of revolutionary feeling ; but Austria still dominated that peninsula, and Metternich kept a close watch upon the movements of its people. There was much agitation. The great secret society of the Carbonari sought to combine the patriots of all Italy in a grand stroke for liberty and union, but nothing came from their efforts. In the States of the Church alone the people rose in revolt against their rulers, but they were soon put down by the Austrians, who invaded their territory, dispersed their weak bands, and restored the old tyranny. The hatred of the Italians for the Austrians grew more intense, but their time had not yet come ; they sank back in submission and awaited a leader and an opportunity.

There was, however, one country in which the Revolution in France called forth a more active response, though, unhappily, only to double the weight of the chains under which its people groaned. This was unfortunate Poland ; once a great and proud kingdom, now dismembered and swallowed up by the mutual suspicion and land-greed of its powerful neighbours. It had been in part restored by Napoleon, in his kingdom of Warsaw, and his work had been in a measure recognized by the Congress of Vienna. The Tsar Alexander, kindly in disposition and moved by pity for the unhappy Poles, had re-established their old kingdom, persuading Austria and Prussia to give up the bulk of their Polish territory in return for equal areas elsewhere. He gave Poland a constitution, its own army, and its own administration, making himself its king, but promising to rule as a constitutional monarch.



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### POLAND IN ARMS

This did not satisfy the Poles. It was not the independence they craved. They could not forget that they had been a great power in Europe when Russia was still the weak and frozen duchy of Muscovy. When the warm-hearted Alexander died and the cold-hearted Nicholas took his place (1825), their discontent grew to dangerous proportions. The news of the outbreak in France five years later was like a firebrand thrown in their midst. The Tsar, true to his principles of attempting to crush any rebellion against crowned heads in Europe, made preparations to march to the assistance of Charles X, and to enable him to carry out this scheme proposed to use Polish troops and Polish money. In November, 1830, a few young hot-headed Poles sounded the note of revolt, and Warsaw rose in insurrection.

For a time they were successful. Constantine, the Tsar's brother, governor of Poland, deserted the capital, leaving the revolutionists in full control. Toward the frontier he hastened, winged by alarm, while the provinces rose in rebellion behind him as he passed. Less than a week had elapsed before the Russian power ceased to exist in Poland, and its people were once more lords of their own land. They set up a provisional government in Warsaw, and prepared to defend themselves against the armies that were sure to come.

What was needed now was unity. A single fixed and resolute purpose, under able and suitable leaders, formed the only conceivable condition of success. But Poland was, of all countries, the least capable of such unity. The landed nobility was full of its old feudal notions; the democracy of the city was inspired by modern sentiments. They could not agree; they quarrelled in castle and court, while their hasty levies of troops were marching to meet the Russians. Under such conditions success was a thing beyond hope.

Yet the Poles fought well. Kosciusko, their former hero,

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would have been proud of their courage and willingness to die for their country. But against the powerful and ably led Russian armies their gallantry was of no avail, and their lack of unity fatal. In May, 1831, they were overwhelmed at Ostrolenka by the Russian hosts. In September Warsaw was taken under circumstances that suggest treachery, and the Russian army entered its gates. The revolt was ended. Nicholas the Tsar decided that these people had been spoiled by kindness and clemency. They should not be spoiled in that way any longer. Under his harsh decrees the Kingdom of Poland vanished. He ordered that it should be made a Russian province, and held by a Russian army of occupation. The very language of the Poles was forbidden to be spoken, and their religion was to be replaced by the Orthodox Russian faith. Those brief months of revolution and independence were fatal to the liberty-loving people. Since then, except during their brief revolt in 1863, they have lain in fetters at the feet of Russia, nothing remaining to them but their patriotic memories and their undying aspiration for freedom and independence. Not until 1914 was any hope of regaining their nationality held out to them, when a later Nicholas, as we have seen, promised them an autonomous government.

### PROSPERITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

In Great Britain, as on the continent, this period was also a time of great unrest and change, though here the change, so far from being caused by a revolution avoided one, by bringing about constitutional alterations, for which the country was fully ripe, in a constitutional way. The fact that these changes roughly coincided in time with the French Revolution of 1830, and the Belgian, Italian, and Polish risings must not be taken as evidence that they were caused by them; and though the British were undoubtedly encouraged by the events on the continent of Europe, the

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reforms in Great Britain would have taken place when they did had there been no such encouragement.

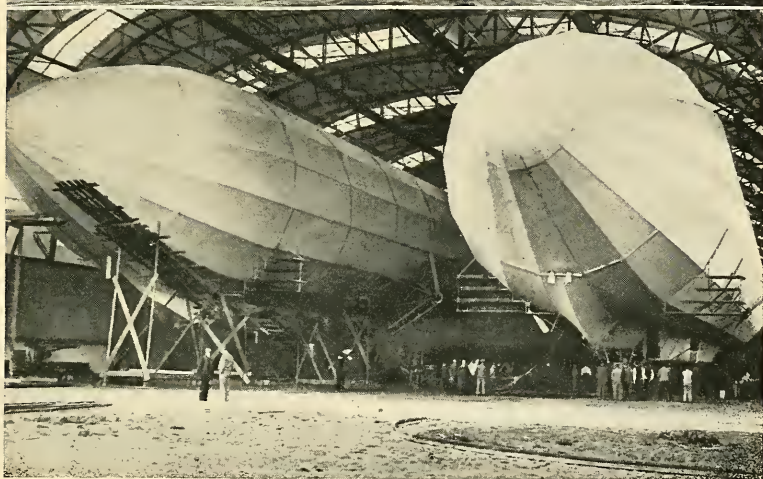
Before speaking of what took place here a few words on the political and industrial conditions then existing in the British Isles will be of interest.

Great Britain, small as it is, had advanced, by the opening of the nineteenth century, to be the leading Power in Europe. Its industries, its commerce, its enterprise had expanded enormously. It had become the great workshop and the chief distributor of the world. The raw material of the nations flowed through its ports, the finished products of mankind poured from its looms. London became the great money centre of the world, and the industrious and enterprising islanders grew enormously rich, while no equal steps of progress and enterprise showed themselves in any of the nations of the continent.

It was the one Power in Europe that persistently defied Napoleon and escaped the fury of his assaults. It has been shown in former chapters what part it took in the Napoleonic wars, how the final fall of the mighty conqueror was mainly due to a British army, and how his career ended in an island prison under a British warder.

It cannot be said that the industrial prosperity of Great Britain, while of advantage to her people as a whole, was necessarily so to individuals. While one portion of the nation amassed enormous wealth, the bulk of the people sank into the deepest poverty. The factory system brought with it oppression and misery which it would need a century of industrial revolt to overcome. The costly wars, the crushing taxation, the oppressive Corn Laws, which forbade the importation of foreign corn, the extravagant expenses of the court and salaries of officials, all conspired to depress the people. Manufactures fell into the hands of the few, and a vast number of artisans were forced to live from hand to mouth, and to labour for long hours on pinching wages.





I. ONE OF GERMANY'S LATEST ZEPPELINS ON LAKE CONSTANCE

*Photo Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*

II. INTERIOR OF A ZEPPELIN SHED

*Photo Record Press*





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Estates were similarly accumulated in the hands of the few, and the small landowner and trader tended to disappear. Everything was taxed to the utmost it would bear, while the government was too occupied with foreign affairs to pay much attention to the needs and sufferings of the people at home, and made no effort to decrease the prevailing misery. Thus it came about that the era of Great Britain's greatest prosperity and supremacy as a world-power was the one of greatest industrial oppression and misery at home, a period marked by rebellious uprisings among the people, to be repressed with stern and occasionally bloody severity. It was a period of industrial transition, in which the government flourished and the people suffered, and in which the seeds of discontent and revolt were widely spread.

### AN INTOLERABLE SITUATION

The situation, in fact, had grown intolerable. Parliament continued apathetic regarding the condition of the working people. Certainly it showed no indication of alertness to the fact that the political condition had grown desperate. Yet the feeling was widespread that something must be done. If affairs were allowed to go on as they were the people might rise in a revolt that would widen into revolution. A general outbreak seemed at hand. To use the language of the times, the 'Red Cock' was crowing in the rural districts, that is, incendiary fires were being kindled in a hundred places. In the centres of manufacture similar signs of discontent appeared. Tumultuous meetings were held, riots broke out, collisions with the troops took place. Daily and hourly the situation was growing more critical. The people were in that state of exasperation that, in other countries, is the preliminary stage of insurrection. The two things especially demanded were, reform in Parliamentary representation and repeal of the Corn Laws. Just what is meant by the former must be told at some length, as it referred to a

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condition of affairs which had long been outgrown. Representation of the people, in truth, once a fact, had long since become a fiction, one so far removed from the needs of the times as to have become a subject for ridicule.

### REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT

The British Parliament, it is scarcely necessary to say, is composed of two bodies, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In those days the former consisted solely of representatives of the aristocratic element of the nation, as indeed it does to a very large extent to-day. But then, and right down to the passing of the Parliament Act in 1911, its powers were very great, and its ability to veto any legislation passed by the House of Commons was theoretically—though not practically—unlimited. In effect, it represents simply its members, since they hold their seats as a privilege of their titles, and have only their own interests to consider, though the interests of their class and their country of course go with them. The House of Commons is supposed to represent the people, but up to the time with which we are concerned it had never fully done so, and did so now much less than ever, since the right to vote for its members was reserved to a few thousands of the well-to-do.

In the year 1830, indeed, the House of Commons had almost ceased to represent the people at all. Its seats were distributed in accordance with a system that had scarcely changed in the least for two hundred years. The idea of distributing the members in accordance with the population was scarcely thought of, and was scoffed at by many of the leading statesmen; and a state of affairs had arisen which was as absurd as it was unjust. For during these two hundred years great changes had taken place in England. What were originally mere villages or open plains had become flourishing commercial or manufacturing cities. Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and other centres of industry had become

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seats of great and busy populations. On the other hand, once flourishing towns had decayed, ancient boroughs had become practically extinct. Thus there had been great changes in the distribution of population, but the distribution of seats in Parliament remained the same.

As a result of this state of affairs the great industrial towns, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and others, with their hundreds of thousands of people, did not send a single member to Parliament, while places with only a handful of voters were duly represented, and even places with almost no voters at all sent members to Parliament. So far had things gone, indeed, that in one case the whole constituency consisted of an uninhabited, grass-covered mound, while in another instance the constituency had been removed bodily by coast-erosion and was now deep beneath the sea! Land-holding lords nominated and elected members for such seats, generally selecting the younger sons of noble families; and thus a large number of the 'representatives of the people' really represented no one but the gentry to whom they owed their places. 'Rotten' boroughs these were justly called, but they were retained by the stolid conservatism with which the genuine Briton clings to things and conditions of the past.

### LORD RUSSELL'S GREAT SPEECH

The peculiar state of affairs was picturesquely pointed out by Lord John Russell in a speech in 1831. "A stranger," he said, "who was told that this country is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and enlightened than any country was before it—that it is a country which prides itself upon its freedom, and which once in seven years elects representatives from its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom—would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed, and how the people choose their representatives.



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“Such a person would be very much astonished if he were taken to a green mound and told that that mound sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a stone wall with three niches in it, and told that those three niches sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were shown a green park with many signs of flourishing vegetable life, but none of human habitation, and told that that green park sent two representatives to Parliament. But he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and populous towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines and every species of manufacture, and were then told that these towns sent no representatives to Parliament.

“Such a person would be still more astonished if he were taken to Liverpool, where there is a large constituency, and told, ‘Here you will have a fine specimen of a popular election.’ He would see bribery employed to the greatest extent and in the most unblushing manner; he would see every voter receiving a number of guineas in a bag as the price of his corruption; and after such a spectacle he would be, no doubt, much astonished that a nation whose representatives are thus chosen, could perform the functions of legislation at all, or enjoy respect in any degree.”

### THE OLD HOUSE OF COMMONS

Such was the state of affairs when there came to England the news of the quiet but effective French Revolution of 1830. For years there had been a steadily growing movement toward reform, and even in some quarters agitation, and now, stimulated perhaps by the stirring events on the continent, came a stern demand for the regeneration of this miscalled ‘House of Commons,’ that claimed to represent the English people. We have not told the whole story of the falsity of the claim. Two years before no man could be a member of Parliament who did not belong to the Church of

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England. No Dissenter could hold any public office in the kingdom. The multitudes of Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other dissenting sects were legally excluded from any share in the government, save by their votes, if they were rich enough to have one. The same was the case with the Catholics, few in England, but forming the bulk of the population of Ireland.

This evil, so far as all but the Catholics were concerned, was removed by Act of Parliament in 1828. The struggle for Catholic liberation was conducted in Ireland by Daniel O'Connell, the most eloquent and patriotic of its orators. He was sneered at by the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister. But when it was seen that all Ireland was backing her orator the Iron Duke gave way, and a Catholic Relief Bill was passed in 1829, giving Catholics the right to hold all but the highest offices of the realm. And in 1830 the great fight for the reform of Parliamentary representation began.

As has been said, the question was not a new one. It had been raised by Cromwell, nearly two hundred years before. It had been brought forward a number of times during the eighteenth century. It was revived in 1809 and again in 1821, but public opinion did not come forcibly to its support until 1830. George IV, its strong opponent, died in that year; William IV, a king more in its favour, came to the throne; the government of the bitterly conservative Duke of Wellington was defeated and Earl Grey, a Liberal minister, who had been in the forefront of the reform movement, took his place; the time was evidently ripe for reform, and soon the great fight was in earnest progress.

The people of England looked upon the reform of Parliament as a method of restoring to them their lost liberties, and they were deeply interested in the event. When, on the 1st of March, 1831, the Bill was brought into the House of Commons, the public interest was intense. For hours eager crowds

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lingered in the streets, and mounted men waited ready to dash off with the news to every part of the country; and when the doors of the Parliament House were opened every inch of room in the galleries was quickly filled, while for hundreds no room was to be found.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM

The debate opened with the speech by Lord John Russell from which we have quoted. In the Bill offered by him he proposed to disenfranchise entirely sixty-two of the rotten boroughs, each of which had less than 2000 inhabitants; to reduce forty-seven others, with less than 4000 inhabitants, to one member each; and to distribute the 168 members thus unseated among the populous towns, districts, and counties which either had no members at all, or a number out of all proportion to their population. Also the suffrage was to be extended, the hours for voting shortened, and other reforms adopted.

The Bill was debated, pro and con, with all the eloquence then in Parliament, and on March 21st, the second reading was carried by a majority of one amid scenes of the greatest excitement. But vigorously as the Bill had been presented, the opposing elements were too strong, and a few weeks later a debate on an amendment ended in defeat by a majority of eight. Parliament was immediately dissolved, and an appeal was made to the people. The result showed the strength of the public sentiment, limited as the suffrage was. The new Parliament contained a large majority of reformers, and when the Bill was again presented it was carried by a majority of one hundred and six. On the evening of its passage it was sent to the House of Lords, where it was eloquently presented by Earl Grey, the Prime Minister, and supported by Lord Brougham, but bitterly attacked by Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst, who declared that it would utterly overwhelm the aristocratic part of the

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House. Their view was that of their fellows, and the Reform Bill was thrown out by a majority of forty-one.

Instantly, on the news of this action of the Lords, the whole country blazed into a state of excitement and disorder only surpassed by that of civil war. The people were bitterly in earnest in their demand for reform, their feelings being wrought up to an intense pitch of excitement. Riots broke out in parts; London and the great towns seethed with excitement. The peers were mobbed in the streets and hustled and assaulted wherever seen. They made their way to the House only through a throng howling for reform. Those known to have voted against the Bill were in peril of their lives, some being forced to fly over house-tops to escape the fury of the people. Angry debates arose in the House of Lords in which even the Bishops took an excited part. The Commons was like a bear-pit, a mass of furiously wrangling opponents. England was shaken to the centre by the defeat of the Bill, and Parliament reflected the sentiment of the people.

On December 12th Russell presented a third Reform Bill to the House, almost the same in its provisions as those which had been defeated. The debate now was brief, and the result certain. It was felt to be no longer safe to juggle with the people. On the 18th the Bill was passed, with a greatly increased majority, now amounting to one hundred and sixty-two. To the Lords again it went, where the Tories, led by Wellington, were in a decided majority against it. It had no chance of passage, unless the king would create enough new peers to outvote the opposition. This William IV was strongly opposed to, and Earl Grey resigned the ministry, leaving the Tories to bear the brunt of the situation.

### HOW SUFFRAGE WAS GAINED

The result was one barely short of civil war. The people rose in fury, determined upon reform or revolution.



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Organized unions sprang up in every town. Threats of marching an army upon London were made. Wellington was mobbed in the streets and was in peril of his life. The maddened populace went so far as to curse the king himself, and whenever his carriage appeared it was surrounded by yelling mobs. The country was indeed on the verge of insurrection against the government, and unless quick action were taken it would be impossible to foresee the result.

William IV, perhaps with the recent experience of Charles X of France before his eyes, gave way, and promised to create enough new peers to insure the passing of the Bill, a procedure also adopted by George V in the case of the Parliament Act nearly eighty years later. To escape this unwelcome necessity Wellington and others of the Tories, at the request of the king, agreed to stay away from Parliament, and the Lords, pocketing their dignity as best they could, passed the Bill by a safe majority, and the reform demanded was attained. Similar bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland, and thus was achieved the greatest measure of reform in the history of the British Parliament. The actual granting of the vote to people who had not hitherto had it, the disenfranchising of the rotten boroughs and enfranchising of populous cities, and the general redistribution of seats, however, though of very great importance in themselves are not the chief items that make the passing of the Reform Bill a landmark in British history. Time goes on, and these things themselves stand in need of reform ; but what stands solid for all time is the principle then accepted by the Lords and by the Crown, viz., that when it is evident that the people, through the Commons, are determined on a certain course of action it is for ever after June 4th, 1832, unconstitutional for either the Crown or the Lords to stand in the way. That is the true significance of the Reform Act ; and in this way its passing may be called a revolution, the first great step in the evolution of a truly representative

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assembly in Great Britain, whose beneficial effect has been seen in all its subsequent legislation.

We may fitly deal here with some later steps taken in the same direction. In 1867 the subject of the extension of the suffrage became the great issue. The demand for it was strenuous, and the Tories, under Disraeli, their leader, were obliged to bring in a bill for this purpose, one which gave the privilege of voting to millions previously disenfranchised, making it almost universal among the commercial and industrial classes. Nearly twenty years later, in 1884, another extension of the suffrage was made, this applying to the agricultural labourers; and nearly twenty years later still, in 1911, the Parliament Act, curtailing very extensively the vetoing power of the House of Lords, was passed after a bitter and protracted conflict. This ended the great struggle so far as the male element of the population was concerned. Many years were to pass after 1832 before a crusade would arise with the purpose of giving the Parliamentary franchise to women as well as to men. At the time of the outbreak of the Great War this was very actively in progress, with no clear indication as to how it would result. It was pursuing a militant method which did not seem to promise favourable results; but when the war started, both its leaders and followers patriotically decided to call a truce, and to give the various relief committees the benefit of their vast and highly efficient organization.

### THE CORN LAWS REPEALED

We must deal more briefly with the second great reform demanded by the people, that for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

For centuries commerce in grain had been a subject of legislation. In 1361 its exportation from England was forbidden, and in 1463 its importation was prohibited unless the price of wheat was greater than 6s. 3d. per quarter. As time went

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on changes were made in these laws, but the tariff charges kept up the price of grain until the middle of the nineteenth century, and added greatly to the miseries of the working classes.

The farming land of England was not held by the common people, but by the aristocracy, who fought bitterly against the repeal of the then existing Corn Laws, which, by laying a large duty on grain, added materially to their profits. But while the aristocrats were benefited, the workers suffered, the price of the loaf being decidedly raised and their scanty fare correspondingly diminished.

More than once the people rose in riot against these laws, the apostle of the crusade against them being Richard Cobden, one of Britain's greatest orators. He advocated their repeal with a power and influence that in time grew irresistible. He was not affiliated with either of the great parties, but stood apart as an independent Radical, a man with a party of his own, and that party Free Trade. For the crusade against the Corn Laws widened into one against the whole principle of protection. Backed by the public demand for cheap food, the movement went on, until in 1846 Cobden brought over to his side the government forces under Sir Robert Peel, by whose aid the Corn Laws were swept away and the ports of England thrown open to the free entrance of food from any part of the world.

With the repeal of the duties on grain the whole system of protection was dropped and in its place was adopted that system of free trade in which Great Britain stands alone among the nations of the world.

## CHAPTER XII

### EUROPE IN ARMS IN 1848

#### OUTBREAK OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEMOCRACY

*Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity : Reform Outbreak in Paris : A Republic founded : Revolt in Germany and Austria : The Metternich Policy fails : The Struggle in Vienna and Berlin : A Federal Empire in Germany : Italy strikes for Freedom : A French Army occupies Rome : The Hungarian Revolution : Kossuth and the Magyars : How the Conflict ended*

THE Revolution of 1830 did not bring peace and quiet to France nor to Europe. In France the people grew dissatisfied with their new monarch; in Europe generally they demanded a greater share of liberty. Louis Philippe delayed to extend the suffrage; he used his high position to add to his great riches; he failed to win the hearts of the French, and was widely accused of selfishness and greed. There were risings of legitimists in favour of the Bourbons, while the republican element was opposed to monarchy. No less than eight attempts were made to remove the king by assassination—all of them failures, but they showed the disturbed state of public feeling. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity became the watchwords of the working classes, socialistic ideas arose and spread, and the industrial element of the various nations became allied in one great body of revolutionists known as the 'Internationalists.'

#### LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY

In Germany, the demand of the people for political rights grew until it reached a crisis. The radical writings of the 'Young Germans,' the stirring songs of their poets, the bold utterances of the press, the doctrines of the 'Friends of Light' among the Protestants and of the 'German Catholics' among the Catholics, all went to show that the



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people were deeply dissatisfied alike with the State and the Church. They were rapidly arousing from their sluggish acceptance of the work of the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and the spirit of liberty was in the air.

The King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, saw danger ahead. He became king in 1840 and lost no time in trying to make his rule popular by reforms. An edict of toleration was issued, the sittings of the courts were opened to the public, and the Estates of the provinces were called to meet in Berlin. In the convening of a Parliament he had given the people a voice. The Estates demanded freedom of the press and of the state with such eloquence and energy that the king dared not resist them. The people had gained a great step in their progress toward liberty.

In Italy also the persistent demands of the people met with an encouraging response. The Pope, Pius IX, extended the freedom of the press, gave a liberal charter to the City of Rome, and began the formation of an Italian confederacy. In Sicily a revolutionary outbreak took place, and the King of Naples was compelled to give his people a constitution and a parliament. His example was followed in Tuscany and Sardinia. The tyrannical Duke of Modena was forced to flee from the vengeance of his people, and the throne of Parma became vacant by the death in 1847 of Marie Louise, the widow of Napoleon Bonaparte, a woman little loved and less respected.

The Italians were filled with hope by these events. Freedom and the unity of Italy loomed up before their eyes. Only two obstacles stood in their way, the Austrians and the Jesuits, and both of these were bitterly hated. Gioberti, the enemy of the Jesuits, was greeted with cheers, under which might be heard harsh cries of "Death to the Germans." Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of 1848. The measure of liberty granted the people only whetted their appetite for more, and over all Western Europe rose an

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ominous murmur, the voice of the people demanding the rights of which they had so long been deprived. In France this demand was growing dangerously insistent; in Paris, the centre of European revolution, it threatened an outbreak. Reform banquets were the order of the day in France, and one was arranged for in Paris to signalize the meeting of the Chambers.

### REFORM OUTBREAK IN PARIS

Guizot, the historian, who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs, had deeply offended the Liberal party of France by his reactionary policy. The Government threw fuel on the fire by forbidding the banquet and taking steps to suppress it by military force. The people were enraged by this despotic step and began to gather in excited groups. Throngs of them—artisans, students, and tramps—were soon marching through the streets, with shouts of “Reform! Down with Guizot!” The crowds rapidly increased and grew more violent. Those in favour of peace and order were too weak to cope with them; the soldiers were loath to do so; soon barricades were erected and fighting began.

Louis Philippe, alarmed at the situation, next day dismissed Guizot and promised reform, and the people, satisfied for the time and proud of their victory, paraded the streets with cheers and songs. All now might have gone well but for a hasty and violent act on the part of the troops. About ten o'clock at night a shouting and torch-bearing throng marched through the Boulevards, singing and waving flags. Reaching the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they halted and called for its illumination. The troops on duty there interfered, and, on an insult to their colonel and the firing of a shot from the mob, they replied with a volley, before which fifty-two of the people fell killed and wounded.

This reckless and sanguinary deed was enough to turn revolt into revolution. The corpses were carried on biers through

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the streets by the infuriated people, the accompanying torch-bearers shouting: "To arms! They are murdering us!" At midnight the tocsin rang from the bells of Notre Dame; the barricades, which had been partly removed, were restored; and the next morning, February 24th, 1848, Paris was in arms. In the struggle that followed the people were quickly victorious and the capital in their hands.

### A REPUBLIC FOUNDED

Louis Philippe followed the example of Charles X, abdicated his throne and fled to England, where he died two years later. After the fate of Louis XVI no monarch was willing to wait and face a Paris mob. The kingdom was overthrown, and a republic, the second which France had known, was established, the aged Dupont de l'Eure being chosen president. The poet Lamartine, the socialist Louis Blanc, the statesmen Ledru-Rollin and Arago became members of the Cabinet, and all looked forward to a reign of peace and prosperity.

The socialists tried the experiment of establishing national workshops in which artisans were to be employed at the expense of the state, with the idea that this would give work to all. Yet the expected prosperity did not come. The state was soon deeply in debt, many of the people remained unemployed, and the condition of industry grew worse day by day. The treasury proved incapable of paying the state artisans, and the public workshops were closed. In June the trouble came to a crisis and a new and sanguinary outbreak began, instigated by the hungry and disappointed workmen, and led by the advocates of the 'Red Republic,' who acted with ferocious brutality. General Bréa was killed in an attack on one of the barricades, and while attempting to pacify the mob, the Archbishop of Paris was slain by a chance shot from a soldier's musket. Matters soon got to such a head that the National Assembly made

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General Cavaignac dictator and commissioned him to put down the rebellion.

A terrible struggle ensued between the mob and the troops, ending in the suppression of the revolt and the arrest and banishment of many of its ringleaders. Ten or twelve thousand people had been killed. The National Assembly adopted a republican constitution, under which a single legislative chamber and a president to be elected every four years were provided for. The Assembly wished to make General Cavaignac president, but the nation, blinded by their faith in the name of the great conqueror, Napoleon, in December, 1848, elected by an almost unanimous vote his nephew, Louis Napoleon, a man who had suffered a long term of imprisonment for his several attempts against the reign of the late king. He had hurried to France on learning of the outbreak, offered himself as a candidate for the presidency, and the magic of his name served to carry him triumphantly into the office. The revolution, for the time being, was at an end, and France was a republic again.

### REVOLT IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

The effect of this revolution in France spread far and wide through Europe, where, as stated, the seeds of revolt had been widely sown. Outbreaks occurred in Italy, Poland, Switzerland, and Ireland, and in Germany the revolutionary fever burned hot. Baden was the first state to yield to the demands of the people for freedom of the press, a parliament, and other reforms, and went so far as to abolish the imposts still remaining from feudal times. The other minor states followed its example. In Saxony, Würtemberg, and other states class abuses were abolished, Liberals given prominent positions under government, the suffrage and the legislature reformed, and men of liberal sentiment summoned to discuss the formation of new constitutions.

But it was in the great despotic states of Germany—Prussia



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

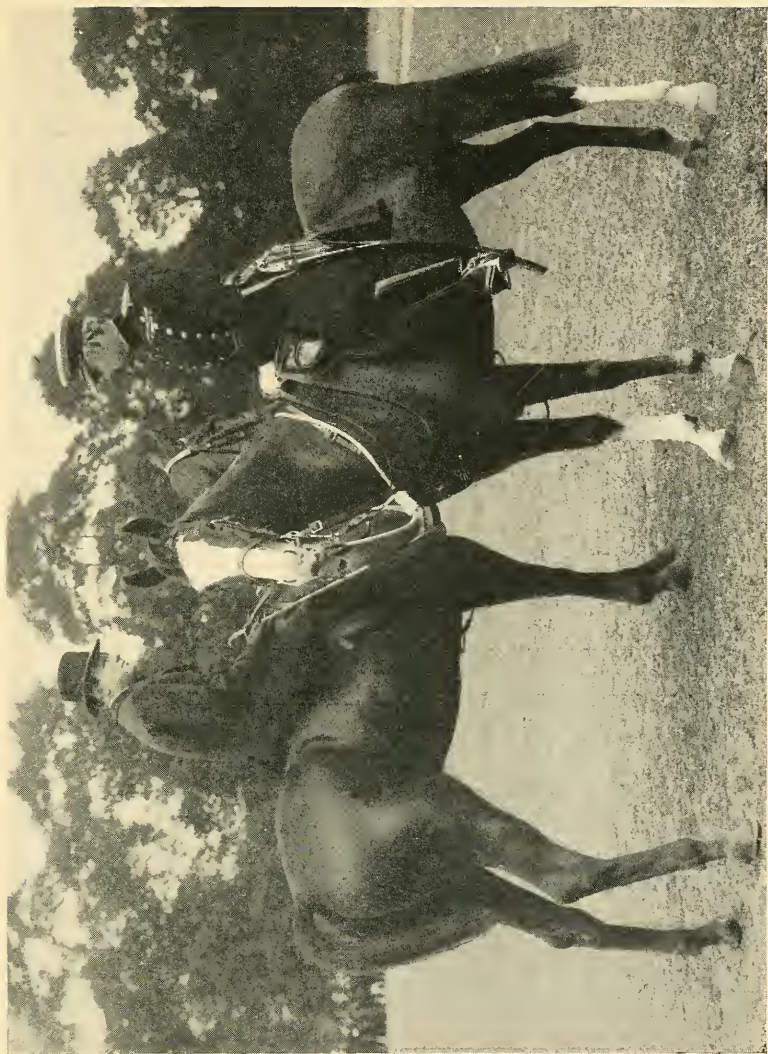
and Austria—that the Liberals gained the most complete and important victory, and went furthest in overthrowing autocratic rule and establishing constitutional government. The notable Austrian statesman who had been a leader in the Congress of Vienna and who had suppressed liberalism in Italy, Prince Metternich, was still, after more than thirty years, at the head of affairs in Vienna. He controlled the policy of Austria ; his word was law in much of Germany ; time had cemented his authority, and he had done more than any other man in Europe in maintaining despotism and building a dam against the rising flood of liberal sentiment.

### THE METTERNICH POLICY FAILS

But the hour of the man who had destroyed the work of Napoleon was at hand. He failed to recognize the spirit of the age or to perceive that liberalism was deeply penetrating Austria. To most of the younger statesmen of Europe the weakness of his policy and the rottenness of his system were growing apparent, and it was evident that they must soon fall before the onslaught of the advocates of freedom.

An incitement was needed, and it came in the news of the Paris revolution. At once a hot excitement broke out everywhere in Austria. From Hungary came a vigorous demand for an independent parliament, reform of the constitution, decrease of taxes, and relief from the burden of the national debt of Austria. From Bohemia, whose rights and privileges had been seriously interfered with in the preceding year, came similar demands. In Vienna itself the popular outcry for increased privileges grew insistent.

The excitement of the people was aggravated by their distrust of the paper money of the realm and by a great depression in commerce and industry. Daily more workmen were thrown out of employment, and soon throngs of the hungry and discontented gathered in the streets. Students, as



THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, MR WINSTON CHURCHILL, AND  
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS LLOYD

*Photo Alfieri*



## EUROPE IN ARMS IN 1848

usual, led away by their boyish love of excitement, were the first to create a disturbance, but others soon joined in, and the affair quickly became serious.

The old system was evidently at an end. The policy of Metternich could restrain the people no longer. Lawlessness became general, excesses were committed by the mob, the dwellings of those whom the populace hated were attacked and plundered, the authorities were resisted with arms, and the danger of an overthrow of the government grew imminent. The press, which had gained freedom of utterance, added to the peril of the situation by its inflammatory appeals to the people, and by its violence checked the progress of the reforms which it demanded. Metternich, by his system of restraint, had kept the people in ignorance of the first principles of political affairs, and the liberties which they now asked for showed them to be unadapted to a liberal government. The old minister, whose system was falling in ruins about him, fled from the country and sought a refuge in England, the haven of political failures.

### THE STRUGGLE IN VIENNA AND BERLIN

In May, 1848, the emperor, alarmed at the threatening state of affairs, left his capital and withdrew to Innsbruck. The tidings of his withdrawal stirred the people to passion, and the outbreak of mob violence which followed was the fiercest and most dangerous that had yet occurred. Gradually, however, the tumult was appeased, a constitutional assembly was called into being and opened by the Archduke John, and the Emperor Ferdinand re-entered Vienna amid the warm acclamations of the people. The outbreak was at an end. Austria had been converted from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy.

In Berlin the spirit of revolution became as marked as in Vienna. The king resisted the demands of the people, who soon came into conflict with the soldiers, a fierce street fight



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

breaking out and continuing with violence for two weeks. The revolutionists demanded the removal of the troops and the formation of a citizen militia, and the king, alarmed at the dangerous crisis in affairs, at last assented. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, the obnoxious ministry was dismissed, and a citizen-guard was created for the defence of the city. Three days afterward the king promised to govern as a constitutional monarch, an assembly was elected by universal suffrage, and to it was given the work of preparing a constitution for the Prussian state. Here, as in Austria, the revolutionists had won the day and irresponsible government was at an end.

### A FEDERAL EMPIRE IN GERMANY

Elsewhere in Germany radical changes were taking place. King Louis of Bavaria, who had deeply offended his people, resigned on March 20th, 1848, in favour of his son, Maximilian II. The Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt did the same. Everywhere the Liberals were in the ascendant, and were gaining freedom of the press and constitutional government. The formation of Germany into a federal empire was proposed and adopted, and a National Assembly met at Frankfort on May 18th, 1848. It included many of the ablest men of Germany. Its principal work was to organize a union under an irresponsible executive, which was to be surrounded by a responsible ministry. The Archduke John of Austria was selected to fill this new but brief imperial position, and made a solemn entry into Frankfort on the 11th of July. All this was not enough for the ultra-Radicals. They determined to found a German republic, and their leaders, Hecker and Struve, called the people to arms. An outbreak took place in Baden, but it was quickly suppressed, and the republican movement came to a speedy end. In the north war broke out between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, united duchies with a large German population, which

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desired to be freed from Danish rule and annexed to Germany, and in consequence called for German aid. But just then the new German Union was in no condition to come to their assistance, and Prussia preferred diplomacy to war, with the result that Denmark came out victorious from the contest. As will be seen in a later chapter, Prussia, under the energetic leadership of Bismarck, came, a number of years afterwards, to the aid of these discontented duchies, and they were finally torn from Danish control.

### ITALY STRIKES FOR FREEDOM

While these exciting events were taking place in the north, Italy was swept with a storm of revolution from end to end. Metternich was no longer at hand to keep it in check, and the whole peninsula seethed with revolt. Sicily rejected the rule of the Bourbon King of Naples, chose the Duke of Genoa, son of Charles Albert of Sardinia, for its king, and during a year fought for liberty. This patriotic effort of the Sicilians ended in failure. The Swiss mercenaries of the Neapolitan King captured Syracuse and brought the island into subjection, and the tyrant hastened to abolish the constitution which he had been frightened into granting in his hour of extremity.

In the north of Italy war broke out between Austria and Sardinia. Milan and Venice rose against the Austrians and drove out their garrisons, throughout Lombardy the people raised the standard of independence, and Charles Albert of Sardinia called his people to arms and invaded that country, striving to free it and the neighbouring state of Venice from Austrian rule. For a brief season he was successful, pushing the Austrian troops to the frontiers, but the old Marshal Radetzky defeated him at Verona and compelled him to seek safety in flight. The next year he renewed his attempt, but with no better success. Depressed by his failure, he resigned the crown (March, 1849) to his son Victor

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

Emmanuel, who made a disadvantageous peace with Austria. Venice held out for several months, but was finally subdued, and Austrian rule was restored in the north. Meanwhile the Pope, Pius IX, offended his people by his unwillingness to aid Sardinia against Austria. He promised to grant a constitutional government and convened an Assembly in Rome, but the democratic people of the state were not content with feeble concessions of this kind. Rossi, Prime Minister of the state, was assassinated (November, 1848), and the Pope, filled with alarm, fled in disguise, leaving the papal dominion to the revolutionists, who at once proclaimed a republic and confiscated the property of the Church. Mazzini, the leader of 'Young Italy,' the ardent revolutionist who had long worked in exile for Italian independence, entered the Eternal City, and with him Garibaldi, long a political refugee in America and a gallant partisan leader in the recent war with Austria. The arrival of these celebrated revolutionists filled the Democratic party in Rome with the greatest enthusiasm, and it was resolved to defend the States of the Church to the last extremity, viewing them as the final asylum of Italian liberty.

### A FRENCH ARMY OCCUPIES ROME

In this extremity the Pope called on France for aid. That country responded by sending an army, which landed at Civita-Vecchia and marched upon and surrounded Rome. The new-comers declared that they came as friends, not as foes; it was not their purpose to overthrow the republic, but to defend the capital from Austria and Naples. The leaders of the insurgents in Rome did not trust their professions and promises and refused them admittance. A fierce struggle followed. The Republicans defended themselves stubbornly. For weeks they defied the efforts of General Oudinot and his troops. But in the end they were forced to yield, a conditional submission was made, and the French



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soldiers occupied the city. Garibaldi, Mazzini, and others of the leaders took to flight, and the old conditions were gradually resumed under the controlling influence of French bayonets. For years afterward the French held the city as the allies and guard of the Pope.

### THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

The revolutionary spirit, which had given rise to war in Italy, yielded a still more resolute and sanguinary conflict in Hungary, whose people were divided against themselves. The Magyars, the descendants of the old Huns, who demanded governmental institutions of their own, separate from those of Austria, though under the Austrian monarch, were opposed by the Slavonic part of the population, and war began between them. Austrian troops were ordered to the aid of Jellachich, the ruler of the Slavs of Croatia in South Hungary, but their departure was prevented by the democratic people of Vienna, who rose in violent insurrection, induced by their sympathy with the Magyars.

The whole city was quickly in tumult, an attack was made on the arsenals, and the violence became so great that the emperor again took to flight. War in Austria followed. A strong army was sent to subdue the rebellious city, which was stubbornly defended, the students' club being the centre of the revolutionary movement. Jellachich led his Croatians to the aid of the emperor's troops, under Prince Windischgrätz, the city was surrounded and besieged, sallies and assaults were of daily occurrence, and for a week and more a bloody conflict continued day and night. Vienna was finally taken by storm, the troops forcing their way into the streets, where shocking scenes of murder and violence took place. On October 31st, 1848, Windischgrätz entered the conquered city, martial law was proclaimed, the houses were searched, the prisons filled with captives, and the leaders of the insurrection put to death.



# THE NATIONS AT WAR

## KOSSUTH AND THE MAGYARS

Shortly afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth of eighteen, who at once dissolved the constitutional assembly and proclaimed a new constitution and a new code of laws. Hungary was still in arms, and offered a vigorous opposition to the Austrians, who now marched to put down the insurrection. They found it no easy task. The fiery eloquence of the orator Kossuth roused the Magyars to a desperate resistance, Polish leaders came to their support, foreign volunteers strengthened their ranks, Görgey, their chief leader, showed great military skill, and the Austrians were driven out and the fortresses taken. The independence of Hungary was now proclaimed, and a government established under Kossuth as provisional president.

The repulse of the Austrians nerved the young emperor to more strenuous exertions. The aid of Russia was asked, and the insurgent state invaded on three sides, by the Croatians from the south, the Russians from the north, and the Austrians, under the brutal General Haynau, from the west.

The conflict continued for several months, but quarrels between the Hungarian leaders weakened their armies, and in August, 1849, Görgey, who had been declared dictator, surrendered to the invaders, Kossuth and the other leaders seeking safety in flight. Haynau made himself infamous by his cruel treatment of the Hungarian people, particularly by his use of the lash upon women. His conduct raised such widespread indignation that he was roughly handled by a party of brewers, on his visit to London in 1850.

## HOW THE CONFLICT ENDED

With the fall of Hungary the widespread revolutionary movement of 1848 came to an end. The German Union had already disappeared. There were various other dis-

## EUROPE IN ARMS IN 1848

turbances, besides those we have recorded, but finally all the states settled down to peace and quiet. Its results had been great in increasing the political privileges of the people of Western Europe, and with it the reign of despotism in that section of the continent came to an end.

The greatest hero of the war in Hungary was undoubtedly Louis Kossuth, whose name has remained familiar among those of the patriots of his century. From Hungary he made his way to Turkey, where he was imprisoned for two years at Kutaieh, being finally released through the intervention of the governments of Great Britain and the United States. He then visited England, where he was received with enthusiastic popular demonstrations, and in the autumn of 1851 went to the United States, where his reception was equally flattering. Later he settled in Italy, and although he was twice elected to the Hungarian Diet he consistently refused to sit as he could never reconcile himself with the Dual Monarchy. He died at Turin in 1894, within a month of completing his ninety-second year, and was buried at Pesth.

## CHAPTER XIII

### RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

#### OUTCOME OF SLAVIC AMBITIONS IN THE NEAR EAST

*Turkey the 'Sick Man' of Europe : Oppression of the Christians : England and France declare War : Invasion of the Crimea : The Siege of Sebastopol : Charge of the Light Brigade : The Gallant Six Hundred : Sebastopol taken : The Treaty of Paris*

AMONG the most interesting phases of nineteenth-century history is that of the conflict between Russia and Turkey, a struggle for dominion that came down from the preceding centuries, and is, at the moment of writing, still in course of settlement. In the eighteenth century the Turks proved quite able to hold their own against all the power of Russia and all the armies of Catherine the Great, and they entered the nineteenth century with their ancient dominion largely intact. But they were declining in strength while Russia was growing, and long before 1900 the empire of the Sultan would have become the prey of the Tsar had not the other Powers of Europe come to the rescue. In the middle of last century the Tsar Nicholas I had designated the Sultan as the 'sick man' of Europe, and such he and his empire had truly become.

#### TURKEY THE 'SICK MAN' OF EUROPE

Russia's attempts to carry her ambitious designs into effect found abundant excuse in the cruel treatment of the Christian people of Turkey. A number of Christian kingdoms lay under the Sultan's rule, in the south inhabited by Greeks, in the north by Slavs; their people were continually treated with harshness and tyranny, and their every attempt at revolt was repressed with savage cruelty. We have seen how the Greeks rebelled against their oppressors in 1821, and, with the aid of Europe, won their freedom in 1829. Stirred by this struggle, Russia declared war

## RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

against Turkey in 1828, and in the treaty of peace signed at Adrianople in 1829 secured not only the independence of Greece, but a large degree of autonomy for the northern principalities of Serbia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, under the suzerainty of Russia. Turkey was forced in a measure to loosen her grip on Christian Europe. But the Russians were not satisfied with this; they had not got enough for themselves. England and the other Western Powers, fearful of seeing Russia in possession of Constantinople, had forced her to release the fruits of her victory. It was the first step in that jealous watchfulness of England over Constantinople which was to have a more decided outcome in later years. The necessity for the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe stood in Russia's way, the nations of the West viewing in alarm the threatening growth of the great Muscovite Empire.

### OPPRESSION OF THE CHRISTIANS

The ambitious Tsar Nicholas looked upon Turkey as his destined prey, and waited with impatience a sufficient excuse to send his armies again to the Balkan Peninsula, whose mountain barrier formed the great natural bulwark of Turkey in the north. Though the Turkish Government at this time avoided direct oppression of its Christian subjects, the fanatical Mohammedans were difficult to restrain, and the robbery and murder of Christians was of common occurrence. A source of hostility at length arose from the question of protecting these ill-treated peoples. By favour of old treaties the Tsar claimed a certain right to protect the Christians of the Greek faith. France assumed a similar protectorate over the Roman Catholics of Palestine, but the greater number of Greek Christians in the Holy Land, and the powerful support of the Tsar, gave the latter the advantage in the frequent quarrels which arose in Jerusalem between the pilgrims from the East and the West.



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

Nicholas, instigated by his advantage in this quarter, determined to declare himself the protector of all the Christians in the Turkish Empire, a claim which the Sultan dared not admit if he wished to hold control over his Mohammedan subjects, and as a pledge the troops of the Tsar occupied the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia. War was in the air, and England and France, resolute to preserve the balance of power, in June, 1853, sent their fleets to the Dardanelles as useful lookers-on.

### ENGLAND AND FRANCE DECLARE WAR

The Sultan had already rejected the Russian demand. The gauntlet had been thrown down. War was inevitable. The English newspapers demanded of their government a vigorous policy. The old Turkish party in Constantinople was equally urgent in its demand for hostilities. At length, on October 4th, 1853, the Sultan declared war against Russia unless the Danubian principalities were at once evacuated. Instead of doing so, Nicholas ordered his generals to invade the Balkan territory, and on the other hand France and England entered into alliance with the Porte and sent their fleets to the Bosphorus. Shortly afterward the Russian Admiral Nachimoff surprised a Turkish squadron in the harbour of Sinope, attacked it, and—though the Turks fought with the greatest courage—the fleet was destroyed and nearly the whole of its crews were slain.

This turned the tide in England and France, which declared war in March, 1854, while Prussia and Austria maintained a waiting attitude. No event of special importance took place early in the war. In April, Lord Raglan, with an English army of 20,000 men, landed in Turkey, and the siege of the Russian city of Odessa was begun. Meanwhile the Russians, who had crossed the Danube, found it advisable to retreat and withdraw across the Pruth, on a threat of hostilities from Austria and Prussia unless the principalities were evacuated.

## RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

The French had met with heavy losses in an advance from Varna, and the British fleet had made an expedition into the Baltic, but had been checked before the powerful fortress of Kronstadt. Such was the state of affairs in the summer of 1854, when the allies determined to carry the war into the enemy's territory, attack the maritime city of Sebastopol in the Crimea, and seek to destroy the Russian naval power in the Black Sea.

### INVASION OF THE CRIMEA

Of the allied armies, 15,000 men had already perished. With the remaining forces, rather more than 50,000 British and French and 6000 Turks, the fleet set sail in September across the Black Sea, and landed near Eupatoria on the west coast of the Crimean peninsula, on the 4th of September, 1854. Southward from Eupatoria the sea forms a bay, into which, near the ruins of the old town of Inkerman, the little river Chernaya pours. On its southern side lay the fortified town of Sebastopol; on its northern side strong fortifications were raised for the defence of the anchored fleet of the allies. Farther north the western mountain range is intersected by the river Alma, the heights over which Prince Menshikoff, governor of the Crimea, garrisoned with an army of 38,000 men.

Against the latter the allies first directed their attack, and, in spite of the strong position of the Russians on the rocky slopes, Menshikoff was compelled to retreat, owing his escape from entire destruction only to the want of cavalry in the army of the allies. This dearly bought and bloody battle on the Alma gave rise to hopes of a speedy termination of the campaign; but the allies, weakened and wearied by the severe struggle, delayed a further attack, and Menshikoff gained time to strengthen his garrison, and to surround Sebastopol with strong fortifications. When the allies approached the town they were soon convinced that

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

any attack on such formidable defences would be fruitless, and that they must await the arrival of fresh reinforcements and ammunition. The English took up their position on the Bay of Balaklava, and the French to the west, on the Kamiesch.

### THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL

There now commenced a siege of a kind seldom occurring in the history of the world. The first attempt to storm the city by a united attack of the land army and the fleet showed the resistance to be much more formidable than had been expected by the allies. A portion of the Russian fleet, now useless, was sunk to obstruct entrance to the harbour. Between fifteen and twenty thousand sailors, under Admirals Korniloff, Istomin, and Nachimoff, all three of whom were to perish defending the city, reinforced the garrison. The population of the city had been reduced from forty-five thousand to twelve thousand souls. Todleben, colonel of the engineers responsible for the defences, could thus, with very considerable effective forces and material—the fleet alone had furnished eight hundred guns—ably create a whole system of earthworks which, while improvised, were none the less effective. The siege of Sebastopol was, then, less a siege than the struggle of an army defending its positions against another reduced to attacking them by the usual besieging processes. During the siege there were nearly fifty miles of galleries and trenches dug by the allies.

On the north side, which it had been impossible to invest, the Russians received everything they needed and kept in constant relations with the army, which held the country and sought on several occasions to make the invaders raise the siege. The Anglo-French, giving up the idea of attacking from the north, crossed the Chernaya to make an assault on Sebastopol from the south. They installed themselves on the Chersonesus plateau, a natural fortress from which they



## RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

could resist diversions coming from without, and took possession of Kamiesch and Balaklava Bays, through which they could secure provisions much more easily than their adversaries, who were reduced to having everything brought by interminable convoys.

Marshal Saint-Arnaud died of cholera on September 27th and was succeeded by the incompetent Canrobert. His colleague, Lord Raglan, a man of sixty-five, and a veteran of the Napoleonic wars, could not make his dignity compensate for his headstrong incapacity.

The siege was destined to absorb for a year the resources of the belligerents. Accordingly the other operations became of minor importance. In the Black Sea, on April 22nd, the allied fleet had bombarded the military port of Odessa, but respected the city and the commercial harbour. The Russians themselves destroyed their posts on the coast near the Caucasus. In the Baltic, after despairing of an attack on Kronstadt, a landing was made on the Aland Islands, where an unfinished fortress was seized (August 16th). In 1855 Sveaborg was bombarded. Other not very profitable expeditions were sent to the White Sea and Pacific coast.

### CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE

In October Menshikoff, reinforced, tried to interrupt the siege by attacking Balaklava. Eight days after the beginning of siege operations the British were surprised in their strong position near Balaklava by General Liprandi, with a considerable Russian force. This engagement was rendered notable by the mad but heroic 'Charge of the Light Brigade,' which has become famous in song and story. The purpose of this assault on the part of the Russians was to cut the line of communication of the allies, by capturing the redoubts that guarded them, and thus to enforce a retreat by depriving the enemy of supplies.

The day began with a defeat of the Turks and the capture



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

by the Russians of several of the redoubts. Then a great body of Russian cavalry, 3000 strong, charged upon the Ninety-third Highlanders, who were drawn up in line to receive them. There was comparatively but a handful of these gallant Scotsmen, 550 all told, but they have made themselves famous in history as the invincible 'thin red line.'

Sir Colin Campbell, their noble leader, said to them: "Remember, lads, there is no retreat from here. You must die where you stand."

"Aye, aye, Sir Colin," shouted the sturdy Highlanders, "we will do just that."

They did not need to. The murderous fire from their 'thin red line' was more than the Russians cared to endure, and the foe was driven back in disorder.

The British cavalry completed the work of the infantry. On the serried mass of Russian horsemen charged Scarlett's Heavy Brigade, greatly inferior to them in number, but inspired with a spirit and courage that carried its bold horsemen twice through the Russian column with such resistless energy that the great body of Muscovite cavalry broke and fled—3000 completely routed by 800 gallant dragoons.

And now came the unfortunate but world-famous event of the day. Lord Raglan sent an order to the brigade of light cavalry to advance along some heights overlooking a valley. The heights on the opposite side were to be cleared simultaneously by the French.

Lord Lucan, to whom the command was brought, did not understand it. Apparently, Captain Nolan, who conveyed the order, did not clearly explain its purport.

"Lord Raglan orders that the cavalry shall attack immediately," he said, impatient at Lucan's hesitation.

"Attack, sir; attack what?" asked Lucan.

"There, my lord, is your enemy; there are your guns,"

## RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

said Nolan, with a wave of his hand toward the hostile lines. The guns he appeared to indicate were those of a Russian battery at the end of the valley, to attack which by an unsupported cavalry charge was sheer madness. Lucan rode to Lord Cardigan, in command of the cavalry, and repeated the order.

“But there is a battery in front of us and guns and riflemen on either flank,” said Cardigan.

“I know it,” answered Lucan. “But Lord Raglan will have it. We have no choice but to obey.”

“The brigade will advance,” said Cardigan, without further hesitation.

### THE GALLANT SIX HUNDRED

In a moment more the ‘gallant six hundred’ were in motion—going in the wrong direction, as Captain Nolan is thought to have perceived. At all events he spurred his horse toward the front of the brigade, waving his sword as if with the intention to set them right. But no one understood him, and at that instant he was shot dead. He did not fall from the saddle but was carried by his charger across the front of the advancing brigade, an action which was misunderstood by Lord Cardigan, who thought it an intentional insult. There was no further hope of stopping the mad charge.

On and on went the devoted Light Brigade, straight for the Russian battery half a league away. As they went fire was opened on them from the guns upon the heights on either side. Soon they came within range of the guns in front, which also opened a raking fire. They were enveloped in “a zone of fire, and the air was filled with the rush of shot, the bursting of shells, and the moan of bullets, while amidst the infernal din the work of death went on, and men and horses were incessantly dashed to the ground.”

But no thought of retreat seems to have entered the minds

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

of those brave men and their gallant leader. Their numbers diminished with every stride, but they rode coolly until at last they reached the battery and dashed in among the guns, cutting down the gunners as they served their pieces. A strong force of Russian cavalry in the rear of the battery was also attacked and forced to retreat. The men fought madly in the face of death until the word came to withdraw. Once more they suffered the galling fire from the valley and the heights, but now the cannon were behind them and on one side only, for the French had succeeded in forcing back the Russians on the side which they had attacked. At last the remnant of the 'gallant six hundred' appeared upon the plain, comprising one or two large groups, though the most of them were in scattered parties of two or three. One group of about seventy men cut their way through three squadrons of Russian lancers. Another party of equal strength broke through a second intercepting force. Out of some 670 men in all, 247 were killed and wounded, and nearly all the horses were slain. Lord Cardigan, the first to enter the battery, was one of those who came back alive. The whole affair had occupied no more than twenty minutes : but it was a twenty minutes of which the British nation has ever since been proud. The French General Bosquet fairly characterized it by his often quoted remark : " C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre " (it is magnificent, but it is not war.)

The battle of Balaklava was decided in favour of the allies, and on the 5th of November, when Menshikoff had obtained fresh reinforcements, the murderous battle of Inkerman was fought under the eyes of the two Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and after a mighty struggle was won by the allied armies. Fighting in the ranks were two other princely personages, the Duke of Cambridge and Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome, former King of Westphalia.



THE TSAR OF RUSSIA

*Photo Underwood and Underwood, London*





# RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

## SEBASTOPOL TAKEN

These battles in the field brought no changes in the state of affairs. The siege of Sebastopol went on through the winter of 1854-55, during which the allied armies suffered the utmost misery and privation, partly the effect of climate, largely the result of fraud and incompetency at home. It was after receiving the news of the defeat of his troops at Inkerman that the Tsar remarked, "I have two generals who will not fail me, General January and General February." He was right; but he might have added the names of two even more potent than these, General Disease and General Mismanagement. Sisters of Mercy and self-sacrificing English ladies—chief among them the noble Florence Nightingale—strove to assuage the sufferings brought on the soldiers by cold, hunger, and sickness, enemies which proved more fatal than the sword; while the politicians and writers in the press at home saw to it that the contractors who were selling their country and their countrymen's lives for gold, the army with bad food, shoddy clothing, and useless bayonets, did not escape their deserts.

In the year 1855 the war was carried on with increased energy. Sardinia joined the allies and sent them an army of 15,000 men. Austria broke with Russia and began preparations for war. And in March the obstinate Tsar Nicholas died and his milder son Alexander took his place. Peace was demanded in Russia, yet 25,000 of her sons had fallen and the honour of the nation seemed involved. The war went on, both sides increasing their forces. Month by month the allies more closely invested the besieged city. After the middle of August the assault became almost incessant, cannon-balls dropping like an unceasing storm of hail in forts and streets.

On the 5th of September began a terrific bombardment, continuing day and night for three days, and sweeping down more than 5000 Russians on the ramparts. At length, as

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the hour of noon struck on September 8th, the three hundred and fiftieth day of the siege, the attack, of which this play of artillery was the prelude, began, the French assailing the Malakoff, the British the Redan, these being the most formidable of the defensive works of the town. The French assault was successful and Sebastopol became untenable. That night the Russians blew up their remaining forts, sunk their remaining ships of war, and marched out of the town, leaving it as the prize of victory to the allies.

### THE TREATY OF PARIS

Britain, Turkey, and Piedmont would have liked to continue the war; the British were already contemplating a decisive expedition against Kronstadt, and Sweden had just signed a treaty with the allies (November 21st). But Napoleon III wanted no more of it. He was driven to this resolution by domestic reasons, and also by the desire to become allied with Russia, in order to satisfy with its aid (as was actually to happen) the Italian Utopias of which he had been dreaming. Russia was far from being conquered, but its finances were in a most deplorable condition, and peace was necessary to it. Austria, whose weakness after the Hungarian crisis, and fear of Prussia, where Bismarck was already concocting his plans, had kept neutral, made the way easy for negotiations to be opened.

As regards France and England, the negotiations were confined to vague promises, and to Russia they proposed the acceptance of guarantees to which the conclusion of peace was subordinate. When the capture of Kars by the Russians (November 28th) had brought a degree of satisfaction to their national pride that made it more easy for them to yield, Austria decided on submitting to them an ultimatum which it knew would be accepted, a course advised also by Prussia.

The terms of peace were agreed upon in the Paris congress

## RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

(February 25th to March 30th, 1856). The independence and integrity of Turkey were declared to be of European interest, and any conflict which should arise between the Ottoman empire and one of the signing Powers was to justify the mediation of the others. The Straits treaty was renewed, the free navigation of the Danube assured, and an international commission entrusted with seeing to the maintenance of the necessary works at its estuary. To Moldavia was to be added a portion of Russian Bessarabia, so that Russia would not touch on the great river. The Russian protectorate over the principalities was abolished. The Aland Islands in the Baltic were neutralized. But the chief clause was that relating to the Black Sea, from which the war vessels of all nations were excluded. The Sultan once more proclaimed religious liberty, acknowledged the civil equality of all his subjects, and admitted Christians to military service—promises that were not to be kept.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE AMBITION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

#### THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEONISM

*The Coup d'État of 1851 : From President to Emperor : The Empire is Peace : War with Austria : The Austrians Advance : The Battle of Magenta : Possession of Lombardy : French Victory at Solferino : Treaty of Peace : Invasion of Mexico : End of Napoleon's Career*

THE name of Napoleon is a name to conjure with in France. Two generations after the fall of Napoleon the Great the people of that country had practically forgotten the misery he had brought them, and remembered only the glory with which he had crowned the name of France. When, then, a man who has been designated as Napoleon the Little offered himself for their suffrages, they cast their votes, as we have seen, almost unanimously in his favour.

Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, to give him his full name, was a son of the great Napoleon's brother, Louis, once King of Holland, and Hortense de Beauharnais, and had been recognized by Napoleon as, after his father, the direct successor to the throne. This he made strenuous efforts to obtain, hoping to dethrone Louis Philippe and install himself in his place. In 1836, with a few followers, he made an attempt to capture Strasburg. His effort failed and he was arrested and transported to the United States. In 1839 he published a work entitled *Napoleonic Ideas*, which was an apology for the ambitious acts of the first Napoleon.

The growing unpopularity of Louis Philippe tempted Louis Napoleon to make a second attempt to invade France. He did it in a rash way almost certain to end in failure. Followed by about fifty men, and bringing with him a tame eagle, which was expected to perch upon his banner as the harbinger of victory, he sailed from England in August, 1840, and landed at Boulogne. This desperate and foolish enter-

## THE AMBITION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

prise proved a complete failure. The soldiers whom the would-be usurper expected to join his standard arrested him, and he was tried for treason by the House of Peers. This time he was not dealt with so leniently as before, but was sentenced to imprisonment for life and was confined in the castle of Ham. From this fortress he escaped in disguise in May, 1846, and made his way to England.

The Revolution of 1848 gave the restless and ambitious adventurer a more promising opportunity. He returned to France, was elected to the National Assembly, and on the adoption of the republican constitution offered himself as a candidate for the presidency of the new republic. And now the magic of the name of Napoleon told. General Cavaignac, his chief competitor, was supported by the substantial men of the country, who distrusted the adventurer; but the people rose almost solidly in his support, and he was elected president for four years by 5,562,834 votes, against 1,469,166 for Cavaignac.

The new President of France soon showed his ambition. He became engaged in a contest with the Assembly and aroused the distrust of the Republicans by his autocratic remarks. In 1849 he still further offended the Democratic party by sending an army to Rome, which put an end to the republic in that city. He sought to make his Cabinet officers the pliant instruments of his will, and thus caused De Tocqueville, the celebrated author, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs, to resign. "We were not the men to serve him on those terms," said De Tocqueville, at a later time.

The new-made president was feeling his way to imperial dignity. He could not forget that his illustrious uncle had made himself emperor, and his ambition instigated him to the same course. A violent controversy arose between him and the Assembly, which body had passed a law restricting universal suffrage, thus reducing the popular support of the president. In June, 1850, it increased his salary at his

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

request, but granted the increase only for one year—an act of distrust which proved a new source of discord.

### THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1851

Louis Napoleon meanwhile was preparing for a daring act. He secretly obtained the support of the army leaders and prepared covertly for the boldest stroke of his life. On the 2nd of December, 1851—the anniversary of the establishment of the first empire and of the battle of Austerlitz—he got rid of his opponents by means of the memorable *coup d'état*, and seized the supreme power of the state.

The most influential members of the Assembly had been arrested during the preceding night, and when the hour for the session of the House came the men most strongly opposed to the usurper were in prison. Most of them were afterward exiled, some for life, some for shorter terms. This act of outrage and violation of the plighted faith of the president roused the socialists and republicans to the defence of their threatened liberties, insurrections broke out in Paris, Lyons, and other towns, street barricades were built, and severe fighting took place. But Napoleon had secured the army, and the revolt was suppressed with blood and slaughter. Baudin, one of the deposed deputies, was shot on the barricade in the Faubourg St Antoine, while waving in his hand the decree of the constitution. He was afterward honoured as a martyr to the cause of republicanism in France.

The usurper had previously sought to gain the approval of the people by liberal and charitable acts, and to win the good will of the civic authorities by numerous progresses through the interior. He now posed as a protector and promoter of national prosperity and the rights of the people, and sought to lay upon the Assembly all the defects of his administration. By these means, which helped to awaken the Napoleonic fervour in the state, he was enabled safely



## THE AMBITION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

to submit his acts of violence and bloodshed to the approval of the people. The new constitution offered by the president was put to the vote on December 20th, and was adopted by the enormous majority of nearly seven million votes. By its terms Louis Napoleon was to be President of France for ten years, with power equal to that of a monarch, and the Parliament was to consist of two bodies, a Senate and a Legislative House, which were given only nominal power.

### FROM PRESIDENT TO EMPEROR

This was as far as Napoleon dared to venture at that time. A year later, on December 2nd, 1852, having meanwhile firmly cemented his position in the state, he passed from president to emperor, again by a vote of the people, of whom, according to the official report, 7,824,189 cast their votes in his favour. That this report told the truth few or none believed, but it served the usurper's purpose.

Thus ended the second French Republic, by an act of usurpation of the basest and most unwarranted character, but at the same time, one which was almost unanimously endorsed by the change-loving French people. The partisans of the new emperor were rewarded with the chief offices of the state; the leading republicans languished in prison or in exile for the crime of doing their duty to their constituents; and Armand Marrast, the most zealous champion of the republic, died of a broken heart from the overthrow of all his efforts and aspirations. The honest soldier and earnest patriot, Cavaignac, in a few years followed him to the grave. The cause of republicanism in France seemed lost.

The crowning of a new emperor of the Napoleonic family in France naturally filled Europe with apprehensions. But Napoleon III, as he styled himself, was an older man than Napoleon I, and seemingly less likely to be carried away by ambition. His favourite motto, "The Empire is Peace,"



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helped to restore quietude, and gradually the nations began to trust in his words : “ France wishes for peace ; and when France is satisfied the world is quiet.”

Warned by one of the errors of his uncle, and fully aware of the fact that none of the crowned heads was anxious to enter into family relationships with him, he avoided seeking a wife in the royal families of Europe, but allied himself with a Spanish lady of noble rank, the young and beautiful Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Teba. At the same time, making a virtue of necessity, he proclaimed that, “ A sovereign raised to the throne by a new principle should remain faithful to that principle, and in the face of Europe frankly accept the position of a parvenu, which is an honourable title when it is obtained by the public suffrage of a great people. For seventy years all princes’ daughters married to rulers of France have been unfortunate ; only one, Josephine, was remembered with affection by the French people, and she was not born of a royal house.”

The new emperor continued his efforts as president to win the approval of the people by public works. He recognized the necessity of aiding the working classes as far as possible, and protecting them from poverty and wretchedness. During a dearth in 1853 a ‘baking fund’ was organized in Paris, the city contributing funds to enable bread to be sold at a low price. Dams and embankments were built along the rivers to overcome the effects of floods. New streets were opened, bridges built, railways constructed, to increase internal traffic. Splendid buildings were erected for municipal and government purposes. Paris was given a new aspect by pulling down its narrow lanes, and building wide streets and magnificent boulevards—the latter, as was charged, for the purpose of depriving insurrection of its lurking-places. The great exhibition of arts and industries in London was followed in 1854 by one in France, the largest and finest seen up to the time. Trade and industry were

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fostered by a reduction of tariff charges, joint-stock companies and credit associations were favoured, and in many ways Napoleon III worked wisely and well for the prosperity of France, the growth of its industries, and the improvement of the condition of its people.

### THE EMPIRE IS PEACE

But the new emperor, while thus actively engaged in labours of peace, by no means lived up to the spirit of his motto, "The Empire is Peace." An empire founded upon the army needs to give employment to that army. A monarchy sustained by the votes of a people athirst for glory needs to do something to appease that thirst. A throne filled by a Napoleon could not safely ignore the "Napoleonic Ideas," and the first of these might be stated as "The Empire is War." And the new emperor was by no means satisfied to pose simply as the 'nephew of his uncle.' He possessed a large share of the Napoleonic ambition, and hoped by military glory to surround his throne with some of the lustre of that of Napoleon the First.

Whatever his private views, it is certain that France under his reign became the most aggressive nation of Europe, and the overweening ambition and self-confidence of the new emperor led him to the same end as his great-uncle, that of disaster and overthrow. He was evidently bent on playing a leading part in European politics, showing the world that one worthy to bear the name of Napoleon was on the throne, and this ambition led him to acts that mainly served to demonstrate his incapacity.

The very beginning of Louis Napoleon's career of ambition, as President of the French Republic, was signalized by an act of military aggression, in sending an army to Rome and putting an end to the new Italian Republic. These troops were kept there until 1866, and the aspirations of the Italian patriots were held in check until that year. Only when

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United Italy stood menacingly at the gates of Rome were these foreign troops withdrawn. They had accomplished nothing other than to retard for a time the inevitable union of the Italian states into a single kingdom.

In 1854, Napoleon, as has been said, allied himself with the British and the Turks against Russia, and sent an army to the Crimea, which played an effective part in the great struggle in that peninsula; and it was the troops of France that had the honour of rendering Sebastopol untenable, carrying by storm one of its two great fortresses and turning its guns upon the city.

### WAR WITH AUSTRIA

The next act of war on the part of the French Emperor was directed against Austria. As the career of conquest of Napoleon I had begun with an attack upon the Austrians in Italy, Napoleon III attempted a similar enterprise, and with equal success. He had long been cautiously preparing in secret for hostilities with Austria, thus to emulate his great-uncle, but lacked a satisfactory excuse for declaring war. This came in 1858 from an attempt at assassination. Felice Orsini, a fanatical Italian patriot, incensed at Napoleon for failing to come to the aid of Italy, launched three explosive bombs against his carriage. The effect was fatal to many of the people in the street, though the intended victim escaped. Orsini won sympathy while in prison by his patriotic sentiments and the steadfastness of his love for his country. "Remember that the Italians shed their blood for Napoleon the Great," he wrote to the emperor. "Liberate my country, and the blessings of twenty-five millions of people will follow you to posterity."

Louis Napoleon had once been a member of a secret political society of Italy; he had taken the oath of initiation; his failure to come to the aid of that country when in power constituted him a traitor to his oath and one doomed to



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death; the act of Orsini was apparently the work of the society. That he was deeply moved by the attempted assassination is certain, and the result of his combined fear and ambition was soon to be shown by a movement in favour of Italian independence.

On New Year's Day, 1859, while receiving the diplomatic corps at the Tuileries, Napoleon addressed the following significant words to the Austrian ambassador: "I regret that our relations are not so cordial as I could wish, but I beg you to report to the emperor that my personal sentiments toward him remain unaltered."

Such is the masked way in which diplomats announce an intention of war. The meaning of the threatening words was soon shown, when Victor Emmanuel, shortly afterward, announced at the opening of the Chambers in Turin that Sardinia could no longer remain indifferent to the cry for help which was rising from all Italy. Ten years had passed since the defeat of the Sardinians by an Austrian army on the plains of Lombardy, and the end for the time of their hopes of a free and united Italy. During that time they had cherished a hope of retribution, and the words of Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel made it evident to them that an alliance had been made with France and that the hour of vengeance was at hand.

Austria was ready for the contest. Her finances, indeed, were in a serious state, but she had a large army in Lombardy. This was increased, Lombardy was declared in a state of siege, and every step was taken to guard against assault from Sardinia. Delay was disadvantageous to Austria, as it would permit her enemies to complete their preparations, and on April 23rd, 1859, an ultimatum came from Vienna, demanding that Sardinia should put her army on a peace footing or war would ensue. Austria thus took the first formal step toward a declaration of war, and the wishes of France and Italy were fulfilled.



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### THE AUSTRIANS ADVANCE

A refusal came from Turin. Immediately Field-Marshal Gyulai received orders to cross the Ticino. Thus, after ten years of peace, the beautiful plains of Northern Italy were once more to endure the ravages of war. This act of Austria was severely criticized by the neutral Powers, which had been seeking to allay the trouble. Napoleon took advantage of it, as an aid to his purposes, and accused Austria of breaking the peace by invading the territory of his ally, the King of Sardinia.

The real fault committed by Austria, under the circumstances, was not in precipitating war, which could not well be avoided in the temper of her antagonists, but in putting, through court favour and privileges of rank, an incapable leader at the head of the army. Old Radetzky, the victor in the last war, was dead, but there were other able leaders who were thrust aside for the benefit of the Hungarian noble Franz Gyulai, a man without experience as commander-in-chief of an army.

By his uncertain and dilatory movements Gyulai gave the Sardinians time to concentrate an army of 80,000 men around the fortress of Alessandria, and lost all the advantage of being the first in the field. In early May the French army reached Italy, partly by way of the St Bernard Pass, partly by sea; and Garibaldi, with his mountaineers, took up a position that was favourable for an attack on the right wing of the Austrians.

Later in the month Napoleon himself appeared, his presence and the name he bore inspiring the soldiers with new valour, while his first order of the day, in which he recalled the glorious deeds which their fathers had done on those plains under his great-uncle, roused them to the highest enthusiasm. While assuming the title of commander-in-chief, he was wise enough to leave the conduct of the war to his abler subordinates, MacMahon, Niel, and others.

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The Austrian general, having lost the opportunity to attack, was now put on the defensive, in which his incompetence was equally manifested. Being quite ignorant of the position of the foe, he sent Count Stadion, with 12,000 men, on a reconnaissance. An encounter took place at Montebello on May 20th, in which, after a sharp engagement, Stadion was forced to retreat. Gyulai directed his attention to that quarter, leaving Napoleon to march unmolested from Alessandria to the invasion of Lombardy. Gyulai now, aroused by the danger threatening Milan, began his retreat across the Ticino, which he had so uselessly crossed.

The road to Milan crossed both the Ticino River and the Naviglio Grande, a broad and deep canal a few miles east of the river. Some distance farther on lies the village of Magenta, the scene of the first great battle of the war. Sixty years before, on those Lombard plains, Napoleon the Great had first lost, and then, by a happy chance, won the famous battle of Marengo. The Napoleon now in command was a very different man from the mighty soldier of the year 1800, and the French escaped a disastrous rout only because the Austrians were led by a still worse general. The battle of Magenta is an illustration of the saying that victory comes to the army that makes the fewest blunders.

The French pushed on, and first came into touch with the enemy at Buffalora, a village on the canal. Here a bloody struggle went on for hours, ending in the capture of the place by the Grenadiers of the Guard, who held on to it afterward with stubborn courage.

### THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA

General MacMahon, in command of the advance, had his orders to march forward, whatever happened, to the church-tower of Magenta, and, in strict obedience, he left the grenadiers to hold their own at Buffalora, heedless of the fact that the reserves had not yet begun to cross the river.

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It was the 4th of June, and the day was well advanced when MacMahon came in contact with the Austrians at Magenta, and the great contest of the day began.

It was a battle in which the commanders on both sides, with the exception of MacMahon, showed lack of military skill and the soldiers on both sides the staunchest courage. The Austrians seemed devoid of plan or system, and their several divisions were beaten in detail by the French; their main column was taken between two fires and, desperately resisting, was forced back step by step upon Magenta, where the fight raged most fiercely round the church. From its tower the Austrian general and his staff watched the fortunes of the fray, and at sight of a body of reserves advancing to the support of MacMahon he ordered a retreat and the battle was at an end.

MacMahon and Mellinet, whose grenadiers had held their own like bulldogs at Buffalora, had won the day for the French. Victor Emmanuel and the Sardinians did not reach the ground until after the battle was at an end. For his services MacMahon was made Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta.

### POSSESSION OF LOMBARDY

The prize of this victory was the possession of Lombardy. Gyulai, unable to collect his scattered divisions, gave orders for a general retreat. Milan was evacuated with precipitate haste, and the garrisons were withdrawn from all the towns, leaving them to be occupied by the French and Italians. On the 8th of June Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel rode into Milan side by side, amid the loud acclamations of the people, who looked upon Magenta as an assurance of Italian freedom and unity. Meanwhile the Austrians retreated without interruption, not halting until they arrived at the Mincio, where they were protected by the famous Quadrilateral, consisting of the four powerful fortresses of Peschiera,

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Mantua, Verona, and Legnago, the mainstay of the Austrian power in Italy.

The French and Italians slowly pursued the retreating Austrians, and on the 23rd of June bivouacked on both banks of the Chiese River, about fifteen miles west of the Mincio. The Emperor Francis Joseph had recalled the incapable Gyulai, and, in hopes of inspiring his soldiers with new spirit, himself took command. The two emperors, neither of them soldiers, were thus pitted against each other, and Francis Joseph, eager to retrieve the recent disaster, resolved to quit his strong position of defence in the Quadrilateral and assume the offensive.

### FRENCH VICTORY AT SOLFERINO

At two o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the allies left their camping-ground, but as neither of the opposing armies had an efficient intelligence department the original plans miscarried, and both were taken by surprise when they came into touch a few hours later.

The Austrians, superior in numbers to their opponents, were posted in a half-circle between the Mincio and Chiese, with the intention of pressing forward from these points upon a centre. But the line was extended too far, for the centre, which rested upon a height near the village of Solferino, was comparatively weak and without reserves, and Napoleon accordingly directed his chief strength against it.

After a murderous conflict, in which the French commanders hurled continually renewed masses against the decisive position, while on the other side the Austrian reinforcements failed through lack of unity and decision, the heights were at length won by the French in spite of an heroic resistance, and the Austrian army was divided into two separate masses. A second attack which Napoleon promptly directed against Cavriana had a similar result; for the commands given by



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the Austrian generals were confused and had no general and definite aim.

The fate of the battle was already in a great measure decided, when a tremendous storm broke forth that put an end to the combat at most points, and gave the Austrians an opportunity to retire in order. Only Benedek, who had twice beaten back the Sardinians at various points, continued the struggle for some hours longer. On the French side Marshal Niel had pre-eminently distinguished himself. It was a day of bloodshed; the two great Powers had measured their strength against each other for twelve hours, and while the Austrians had to lament the loss of 13,000 dead and wounded, and 9000 prisoners, the loss of the allies (except in prisoners) was even greater, for repeated attacks had been made upon well-defended heights.

### TREATY OF PEACE

The victories in Italy filled the French people with the warmest admiration for their emperor, they thinking, in their enthusiasm, that a true successor of Napoleon the Great had come to bring glory to their arms. Italy also was full of enthusiastic hope, fancying that the freedom and unity of the Italians was at last assured. Both nations were, therefore, bitterly disappointed in learning that the war was at an end, and that a hasty peace had been arranged between the emperors which left the hoped-for work but half achieved. Napoleon estimated his position better than his people. Despite his victories, his situation was one of danger and difficulty. The army had suffered severely in its brief campaign, and the Austrians were still in possession of the Quadrilateral, a square of powerful fortresses which he might seek in vain to reduce. And a threat of serious trouble had arisen in Germany. The victorious career of a new Napoleon in Italy was alarming. It was not easy to forget the past. The German Powers, though they had declined



BRITISH NAVAL VOLUNTEERS RETURNING FROM ANTWERP

*Photo "Daily Mirror"*



## THE AMBITION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

to come to the aid of Austria, were armed and ready and at any moment might begin a hostile movement upon the Rhine.

Napoleon, wise enough to secure what he had won, without hazarding its loss, arranged a meeting with the Austrian Emperor, whom he found quite as ready for peace. The terms of the truce arranged between them were that Austria should abandon Lombardy to the line of the Mincio, almost its eastern boundary, and that Italy should form a confederacy under the presidency of the Pope. In the treaty subsequently made only the first of these conditions was maintained, Lombardy passing to the King of Sardinia. He received also the small states of Central Italy, whose tyrants had fled, ceding to Napoleon, as a reward for his assistance, the realm of Savoy and the city and territory of Nice.

## INVASION OF MEXICO

Napoleon III had now reached the summit of his career. In the succeeding years the French were to learn that they had put their faith in a hollow emblem of glory, and the emperor was to lose the prestige he had gained at Magenta and Solferino. His first serious mistake was when he yielded to the voice of ambition, and, taking advantage of the occupation of the Americans in their civil war, sent an army to invade Mexico. The ostensible purpose of this invasion was to collect a debt which the Mexicans had refused to pay, and Great Britain and Spain were induced to take part in the expedition. But their forces were withdrawn when they found that Napoleon had other purposes in view, and his army was left to fight its battles alone. After some sanguinary engagements, the Mexican army was broken into a series of guerilla bands, incapable of facing his well-drilled troops, and Napoleon proceeded to reorganize Mexico as an empire, placing the Archduke Maximilian of Austria on the throne.

All went well while the people of the United States were fighting for their national union, but when their war was over



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the ambitious French Emperor was soon taught that he had committed a serious error. He was given plainly to understand that the French troops could only be kept in Mexico at the cost of a war with the United States, and he found it convenient to withdraw them early in 1867. They had no sooner gone than the Mexicans were in arms against Maximilian, whose rash acceptance of the advice of the clerical party and determination to remain quickly led to his capture and execution as a usurper. Thus ended in utter failure the most daring effort to ignore the 'Monroe Doctrine.'

### END OF NAPOLEON'S CAREER

The inaction of Napoleon during the wars which Prussia fought with Denmark and Austria gave further blows to his prestige in France, and the opposition to his policy of personal government grew so strong that he felt himself obliged to submit his policy to a vote of the people. He was sustained by a large majority, perhaps obtained by the methods familiar to politicians. Certainly he perceived that his power was sinking. He was obliged to loosen the reins of government at home, in spite of the fact that the yielding of increased liberty to the people would diminish his own control. Finally, finding himself failing in health, confidence, and reputation, he yielded to advisers who convinced him that the only hope for his dynasty lay in a successful war. As a result he undertook the war of 1870 against Prussia. The story of this war will be given in a subsequent chapter. All that need be said here is that it proved the utter incompetence of Napoleon III in military matters, he being completely deceived in the condition of the French army and unwarrantably ignorant of that of the Germans. The conditions were such that victory for France was impossible, France losing its second empire and Napoleon his throne. He died two years later, an exile in England, that place of shelter for the royal refugees of France.

## CHAPTER XV GARIBALDI AND ITALIAN UNITY

### POWER OF AUSTRIA BROKEN

*The Carbonari : Mazzini and Garibaldi : Cavour,  
the Statesman : The Invasion of Sicily : Occupation  
of Naples : Victor Emmanuel takes Command :  
Watchword of the Patriots : Garibaldi marches  
against Rome : The Naval Battle of Lissa : Final  
Act of Italian Unity*

FROM the time of the fall of the Roman Empire until late in the nineteenth century, a period of some fourteen hundred years, Italy remained disunited, divided up among a series of states, small and large, hostile and peaceful, while its territory was made the battle-field of the surrounding Powers, the helpless prey of Germany, France, and Spain. Even the strong hand of Napoleon failed to bring it unity, and after his fall its condition was worse than before, for Austria held most of the north and exerted a controlling power over the remainder of the peninsula, so that the fair form of liberty fled in dismay from its shores.

But the work of Napoleon had inspired the patriots of Italy with a new sentiment, that of union. Before the Napoleonic era the thought of a united Italy scarcely existed, and patriotism meant adherence to Sardinia, Naples, or some other of the many kingdoms and duchies. After that era union became the watchword of the revolutionists, who felt that the only hope of giving Italy a position of dignity and honour among the nations lay in making it one country under one ruler. The history of the nineteenth century in Italy is the record of the attempt to reach this end, and its successful accomplishment. And on that record the names of two men appear prominently, Mazzini, the indefatigable conspirator, and Garibaldi, the valorous fighter; to whose names should be added the most important of them all, that of the eminent statesman, Count Cavour, and that of

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the man who reaped the benefit of their patriotic labours, Victor Emmanuel, the first king of united Italy.

### THE CARBONARI

The basis of the revolutionary movements in Italy was the secret political association known as the Carbonari, formed early in the nineteenth century and including members of all classes in its ranks. In 1820 this powerful society was strong enough to invade Naples with an army and force from the king an oath to observe the new constitution which it had prepared. The revolution was put down in the following year by the Austrians, acting as the agents of the 'Holy Alliance'—the compact of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

An ordinance was passed condemning any one who should attend a meeting of the Carbonari to capital punishment. But the society continued to exist, despite this severe enactment, and was at the root of many of the outbreaks that took place in Italy from 1820 onward. Mazzini, Garibaldi, and all the leading patriots were members of this powerful organization, which was daring enough to condemn Napoleon III to death, and almost to succeed in his assassination, for his failure to live up to his obligations as one of its members.

### MAZZINI AND GARIBALDI

Giuseppe Mazzini, a native of Genoa, became a member of the Carbonari in 1830. His activity in revolutionary movements caused him soon after to be proscribed, and in 1831 he sought Marseilles, where he organized a new political society called 'Young Italy,' whose watchword was "God and the People," and whose basic principle was the union of the several states and kingdoms into one nation, as the only true foundation of Italian liberty. This purpose he avowed in his writings and pursued through exile and

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adversity with inflexible constancy, and it is largely due to the work of this earnest patriot that Italy to-day is a single kingdom instead of a medley of separate states. Only in one particular did he fail. His persistent purpose was to establish a republic, not a monarchy.

While Mazzini was thus working with his pen, his compatriot, Giuseppe Garibaldi, was working as earnestly with his sword. This daring soldier, a native of Nice and reared to a life on the sea, was banished as a revolutionist in 1834, and the succeeding fourteen years of his life were largely spent in South America, in whose wars he played a leading part.

The revolution of 1848 opened Italy to these two patriots, and they hastened to return; Garibaldi to offer his services to Charles Albert of Sardinia, by whom, however, he was treated with coldness and distrust. Mazzini, after founding the Roman Republic in 1849, called upon Garibaldi to come to its defence, and the latter displayed the greatest heroism in the contest against the Neapolitan and French invaders. He escaped from Rome on its capture by the French, and, after many desperate conflicts and adventures with the Austrians, was again driven into exile, and in 1850 became a resident of New York, where he settled as a tallow-chandler. Five years later he returned to Europe and took a farm in Sardinia, but the war in 1859 of Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel against the Austrians in Lombardy opened a new and promising channel for the devotion of Garibaldi to his native land. Being appointed major-general and commissioned to raise a volunteer corps, he organized the hardy body of mountaineers called the 'Chasseurs of the Alps,' and with them performed prodigies of valour on the plains of Lombardy, winning victories over the Austrians at Varese, Como, and other places. In his ranks was his fellow-patriot Mazzini.

The success of the French and Sardinians in Lombardy



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during this war stirred Italy to its centre. The Grand Duke of Tuscany fled to Austria. The Duchess of Parma sought refuge in Switzerland. The Duke of Modena found shelter in the Austrian camp. Everywhere the brood of tyrants took to flight. Bologna threw off its allegiance to the Pope, and proclaimed the King of Sardinia dictator. Several other towns in the States of the Church did the same. In the terms of the truce between Louis Napoleon and Francis Joseph the rulers of these realms were to resume their reigns if the people would permit. But the people would not permit, and these minor states were all annexed to Sardinia, which country was greatly expanded as a result of the war.

### CAVOUR, THE STATESMAN

It will not suffice to give all the credit for these revolutionary movements to Mazzini, the organizer, Garibaldi, the soldier, and the ambitious monarchs of France and Sardinia. More important than king and emperor was the eminent statesman, Count Cavour, Prime Minister of Sardinia from 1852. It is to this able man that the honour of the unification of Italy most fully belongs, though he did not live to see it in its entirety. He sent a Sardinian army to the assistance of France and England in the Crimea in 1855, and by this act gave his state a standing among the Powers of Europe. He secured liberty of the press and favoured toleration in religion and freedom of trade. He rebelled against the dominion of the Papacy, and devoted his abilities to the liberation and unity of Italy, undismayed by the angry fulminations from the Vatican. The war of 1859 was largely his work, and he had the satisfaction of seeing Sardinia increased, as has been said, by the addition of Lombardy, Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. A great step had been taken in the work to which he had devoted his life.

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### THE INVASION OF SICILY

The next step in the great work was taken by Garibaldi, who now struck at the powerful kingdom of Naples and Sicily in the south. It seemed a difficult task. Francis II, the son and successor of the infamous 'King Bomba,' had a well-organized army of 150,000 men. But his father's tyranny had filled the land with secret societies, and fortunately at this time the Swiss mercenaries were recalled home, leaving to Francis only his native troops, many of them disloyal at heart to his cause. This was the critical interval which Mazzini and Garibaldi chose for their work.

At the beginning of April, 1860, the signal was given by separate insurrections in Messina and Palermo. These were easily suppressed by the troops in garrison; but though both cities were declared in a state of siege, demonstrations took place by which the revolutionary chiefs excited the public mind. On the 6th of May, Garibaldi started with two steamers from Genoa with about a thousand Italian volunteers, and on the 11th landed near Marsala, on the west coast of Sicily. He proceeded to the mountains, and near Salemi gathered round him the scattered bands of the free corps. By the 14th his army had increased to 4000 men. He now issued a proclamation, in which he took upon himself the dictatorship of Sicily, in the name of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy.

After waging various successful combats under the most difficult circumstances, Garibaldi advanced upon the capital, announcing his arrival by beacon-fires kindled at night. On the 27th he was in front of the Porta Termini of Palermo, and at once gave the signal for the attack. The people rose in mass, and assisted the operations of the besiegers by barricade-fighting in the streets. In a few hours half the town was in Garibaldi's hands. But now General Lanza, whom the young king had dispatched with strong reinforcements to Sicily, furiously bombarded the insurgent city, so that Palermo was reduced almost to a heap of ruins.

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At this juncture, by the mediation of an English admiral, an armistice was concluded, which led to the departure of the Neapolitan troops and war vessels and the surrender of the town to Garibaldi, who thus, with a band of 5000 badly armed followers, had gained a signal advantage over a regular army of 25,000 men. This event had tremendous consequences, for it showed the utter hollowness of the Neapolitan government, while Garibaldi's fame was everywhere spread abroad. The glowing fancy of the Italians beheld in him the national hero before whom every enemy would bite the dust. This idea seemed to extend even to the Neapolitan court itself, where all was doubt, confusion, and dismay. The king hastily summoned a Liberal ministry, and offered to restore the constitution of 1848, but the general verdict was "too late," and his proclamation fell flat on a people who had no trust in Bourbon faith.

The arrival of Garibaldi on the mainland was not long delayed, and was enough to set in blaze all the combustible materials in the state of Naples. Six weeks after the surrender of Palermo he marched against Messina. On the 21st of July the fortress of Melazzo was evacuated, and a week afterwards all Messina except the citadel was given up.

### OCCUPATION OF NAPLES

Europe was astounded at the remarkable success of Garibaldi's handful of men. On the mainland his good fortune was still more astonishing. He had hardly landed—which he did almost in the face of the Neapolitan fleet—when Reggio was surrendered and its garrison withdrew. His progress through the south of the kingdom was like a triumphal procession. At the end of August he was at Cosenza; on the 5th of September at Eboli, near Salerno. No resistance appeared. His very name seemed to work like magic on the population. The capital had been declared in a state of siege, and on September 6th the king took to

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flight, retiring, with the 4000 men still faithful to him, behind the Volturno. The next day Garibaldi, with a few followers, entered Naples, whose populace received him with frantic shouts of welcome.

The remarkable achievements of Garibaldi filled all Italy with overmastering excitement. He had declared that he would proclaim the kingdom of Italy from the heart of its capital city, and nothing less than this would content the people. The position of the Pope had become serious. He refused to grant the reforms suggested by the French Emperor, and threatened with excommunication any one who should meddle with the domain of the Church. Money was collected from faithful Catholics throughout the world, a summons was issued calling for recruits to the holy army of the Pope, and the exiled French General Lamoricière was given the chief command of the troops, composed of men who had flocked to Rome from many nations. It was hoped that the name of the celebrated French leader would have a favourable influence on the troops of the French garrison of Rome.

The settlement of the perilous situation seemed to rest with Louis Napoleon. If he had let Garibaldi have his way the latter would, no doubt, have quickly ended the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and made Rome the capital of Italy. But Napoleon seems to have arranged with Cavour to leave the King of Sardinia free to take possession of Naples, Umbria, and the other provinces, provided that Rome and the 'patrimony of St Peter' were left intact.

### VICTOR EMMANUEL TAKES COMMAND

At the beginning of September two Sardinian army corps, under Fanti and Cialdini, marched to the borders of the States of the Church. Lamoricière advanced against Cialdini with his motley troops, but was quickly defeated, and on the following day was besieged in the fortress of Ancona. On



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the 29th he and the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. On the 9th of October Victor Emmanuel arrived and took command. There was no longer a papal army to oppose him, and the march southward proceeded without a check.

The object of the king in assuming the chief command was to complete the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, in conjunction with Garibaldi. For though Garibaldi had entered the capital in triumph, the progress on the line of the Volturno had been slow; and the expectation that the Neapolitan army would go over to the invaders in a mass had not been realized. The great majority of the troops remained faithful to the flag, so that Garibaldi, although his irregular bands amounted to more than 25,000 men, could not hope to drive away King Francis, or to take the fortresses of Capua and Gaeta, without the help of Sardinia. Against the diplomatic statesman Cavour, who fostered no illusions, and saw the condition of affairs in its true light, the simple, honest Garibaldi cherished a deep aversion. He could never forgive Cavour for having given up Nice, Garibaldi's native town, to the French. On the other hand, he felt attracted toward the king, who, in his opinion, seemed to be the man raised up by Providence for the liberation of Italy.

Accordingly, when Victor Emmanuel entered Sessa, at the head of his army, Garibaldi was easily induced to place his dictatorial power in the hands of the king, to whom he left the completion of the work of the union of Italy. After greeting Victor Emmanuel with the title of King of Italy, and giving the required resignation of his power, with the words, "Sire, I obey," he entered Naples, riding beside the king; and then, after recommending his companions in arms to his majesty's special favour, he retired to his home on the island of Caprera, refusing to receive a reward, in any shape or form, for his services to the state and its head.

The progress of the Sardinian army compelled Francis to give up the line of the Volturno, and he eventually took

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refuge, with his best troops, in the fortress of Gaeta. On the maintenance of this fortress hung the fate of the kingdom of Naples. Its defence is the only bright point in the career of the feeble Francis, whose courage was aroused by the heroic resolution of his young wife, the Bavarian Princess Mary. For three months the defence continued. But no European Power came to the aid of the king, disease appeared with scarcity of food and of munitions of war, and the garrison was at length forced to capitulate. The fall of Gaeta was practically the completion of the great work of the unification of Italy. Only Rome and Venice remained to be added to the united kingdom. On February 18th, 1861, Victor Emmanuel assembled at Turin the deputies of all the states that acknowledged his supremacy, and in their presence assumed the title of King of Italy, which he was the first to bear. Four months afterward Count Cavour, to whom this great work was largely due, died. He had lived long enough to see the purpose of his life practically accomplished.

### WATCHWORD OF THE PATRIOTS

Great as had been the change which two years had made, the patriots of Italy were not satisfied. "Free from the Alps to the Adriatic!" was their cry; "Rome and Venice!" became the watchword of the revolutionists. Mazzini, who had sought to found a republic, was far from content, and the agitation went on. Garibaldi was drawn into it, and made bitter complaint of the treatment his followers had received. In 1862, disheartened at the inaction of the king, he determined to undertake against Rome an expedition like that which he had led against Naples two years before.

In June he sailed from Genoa and landed at Palermo, where he was quickly joined by an enthusiastic party of volunteers. They supposed that the government secretly favoured their design, but the king had no idea of fighting against the French

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troops in Rome and arousing international complications, and he energetically warned all Italians against taking part in revolutionary enterprises.

### GARIBALDI MARCHES AGAINST ROME

But Garibaldi persisted in his design. When his way was barred by the garrison of Messina he turned aside to Catania, where he embarked with 2000 volunteers, declaring he would enter Rome as a victor, or perish beneath its walls. He landed at Melito on the 24th of August, and threw himself at once, with his followers, into the Calabrian mountains. But his enterprise was quickly and disastrously ended. General Cialdini dispatched a division of the regular army, under Colonel Pallavicini, against the volunteer bands. At Aspromonte, on the 29th of August, the two forces came into collision. A chance shot was followed by several volleys from the regulars. Garibaldi forbade his men to return the fire of their fellow-subjects of the Italian kingdom. He was wounded, and taken prisoner with his followers, a few of whom had been slain in the short combat. A government steamer carried the wounded chief to Varignano, where he was held in a sort of honourable imprisonment, and had to undergo a tedious and painful operation for the healing of his wound. He had at least the consolation that all Europe looked with sympathy and interest upon the unfortunate hero ; and a general sense of relief was felt when, restored to health, he was set free, and allowed to return to his rocky island of Caprera.

Victor Emmanuel was seeking to accomplish his end by safer means. The French garrison of Rome was the obstacle in his way, and this was finally removed through a treaty with Louis Napoleon in September, 1864, the emperor agreeing to withdraw his troops during the succeeding two years, in which the Pope was to raise an army large enough to defend his dominions. Florence was to replace Turin as the capital

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of Italy. This arrangement created such disturbances in Turin that the king was forced to leave that city hastily for his new capital. In December, 1866, the last of the French troops departed from Rome, in despite of the efforts of the Pope to retain them. By their withdrawal Italy was freed from the presence of foreign soldiers for the first time probably for a thousand years.

In 1866 came an event which reacted favourably for Italy, though her part in it was the reverse of triumphant. This was the war between Prussia and Austria. Italy was in alliance with Prussia, and Victor Emmanuel hastened to lead an army across the Mincio to the invasion of Venetia, the last Austrian province in Italy. Garibaldi at the same time was to invade the Tyrol with his volunteers. The enterprise ended in disaster. The Austrian troops, under the Archduke Albert, encountered the Italians at Custozza and gained a brilliant victory, despite the much greater numbers of the Italians.

Fortunately for Italy, the Austrians had been unsuccessful in the north, and the emperor, with the hope of gaining the alliance of France and breaking the compact between Italy and Prussia, decided to cede Venetia to Italy through Louis Napoleon. His purpose failed. All Napoleon did in response was to act as a peacemaker, while the Italian King, although the possession of Venetia was essential to the unity of his kingdom, refused to accept it as the price of deserting his ally. Though the Austrians were retreating from a country which no longer belonged to them, the invasion of Venetia by the Italians continued, and several conflicts with the Austrian army took place.

### THE NAVAL BATTLE OF LISSA

The most popular and interesting event of the war was perhaps the naval battle of Lissa, in which the value of iron-clads was for the first time put to the proof. Admiral



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Tegethoff, who used his seven ironclads as rams, completely routed the Italian fleet of ten ironclads and numerous wooden ships under Admiral Persano.

### FINAL ACT OF ITALIAN UNITY

But although Italy was defeated both by land and sea, she gained, as we shall see when dealing with the Prusso-Austrian side of this Seven Weeks' War, the valuable prize of Venetia as a result of the war, and soon afterwards Victor Emmanuel entered Venice in triumph. Thus was completed the second act in the unification of Italy.

The national party, with Garibaldi at its head, still aimed at the possession of Rome, as the historic capital of the peninsula. In 1867 he made a second attempt to capture Rome, but the papal army, strengthened with a new French auxiliary force, defeated his badly armed volunteers at Mentana, a few miles north-east of the Eternal City, and he was taken prisoner and held captive for a time, after which he was sent back to Caprera. This led to the French army of occupation being withdrawn to Civita Vecchia, where it was kept for several years.

The final act came as a consequence of the Franco-German War of 1870, which rendered necessary the withdrawal of the French troops from Italy. The Pope was requested to make a peaceful abdication. As he refused this, the States of the Church were occupied by the Italian National Army up to the walls of the capital, and a three hours' cannonade of the city sufficed to bring the long strife to an end on September 20th, 1870. Rome became the capital of Italy in place of Florence, and the whole peninsula, for the first time since the fall of the ancient Roman empire, was concentrated into a single nation, under one king.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE EXPANSION OF GERMANY

#### BEGINNINGS OF MODERN WORLD-POWER

*William I of Prussia : Bismarck's Early Career :  
The Schleswig-Holstein Question : Conquest of the  
Duchies : Bismarck's Wider Views : War Forced on  
Austria : The War in Italy : Austria's Signal Defeat  
at Königgrätz : The Treaty of Prague : Germany  
after 1866*

THE effort made in 1848 to unify Germany had failed for two reasons—first, because its promoters had not sufficiently clear and precise ideas, and, secondly, because they lacked material strength. Until 1859 reaction against novelties and their advocates dominated Germany, and even Prussia, as well as Austria. The Italian War, as was easily foreseen, and as wary counsellors had told Napoleon III, revived the agitation in favour of unity beyond the Rhine. After September 16th, 1859, it had its centre in the national circle of Frankfort and its manifesto in the proclamation which this issued on September 4th, 1860, a proclamation whose terms, though in a moderate form, clearly announced the design of excluding Austria from Germany. It was the object of those favouring unity, but with more decision than in 1848, to place the group of German states under Prussia's imperial direction. The accession of a new king, William I, who was already in advance called William the Conqueror, was likely to bring this project to a successful issue. The future German Emperor's predecessor, Frederick William IV, with the same ambition as his brother, had too many prejudices and too much confusion in his mind to be capable of realizing it. Becoming insane toward the close of 1857, he had to leave the government to William, who, officially regent after October 7th, 1858, became king on January 2nd, 1861.

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### WILLIAM I OF PRUSSIA

The new sovereign was almost sixty-four years old. The son of Frederick William III and Queen Louisa, while yet a child he had witnessed the disasters of his country and his home, and then as a young man had had his first experience of arms toward the close of the Napoleonic wars. Obligated to flee during the revolt of 1848, he had afterward, by his pro-English attitude at the time of the Crimean War, won the sympathies of the Liberals, who joyfully acclaimed his accession. To lower him to the rank of a party leader was to judge him erroneously. William I was above all a Prussian prince, serious, industrious, and permeated with a sense of his duties to the state, the first of which, according to the men of his house, has ever been to aggrandize it; and he was also imbued with the idea that the state was essentially incarnate in him.

“I am the first king,” he said at his coronation, “to assume power since the throne has been surrounded with modern institutions, *but I do not forget that the crown comes from God.*”

He had none of the higher talents that mark great men, but he possessed the two essential qualities of the head of a state—firmness and judgment. He showed this by the way in which he chose and supported those who built up his greatness, and this merit is rarer than is generally supposed. A soldier above all, he saw that Prussia’s ambitions could be realized only with a powerful army.

Advised by Von Moltke, the army’s chief of staff after 1858, and Von Roon, the great administrator, who filled the office of Minister of War in the face of widespread popular opposition, he changed the organization of 1814, which had become insufficient. Instead of brigades formed in war time, half of men in active service and half of reserves, regiments were now recruited by a three (instead of a two) years’ service and reinforced in case of need by the classes of reserves.





THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

*Photo Boissonnas and Egler*





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The Landwehr, divided into two classes (twenty-five to thirty-two years and thirty-two to thirty-nine), was grouped separately. This system gave seven hundred thousand trained soldiers, Prussia having then seventeen million inhabitants. This was more than either France or Austria had. The equipment was also superior. Frederick William I had already said that the first result to be obtained in this direction was celerity in firing. This was assured by the invention of the needle gun.

### BISMARCK'S EARLY CAREER

Such a transformation entailed heavy expenses. The Prussian Chamber, made up for the most part of Liberals, did not appreciate its utility. Moreover, it was not in favour of increasing the number of officers, because they were recruited from the nobility. After having yielded with bad grace in 1860, the deputies refused the grants in 1861 and 1862. It was at this time that Bismarck was called to the ministry (September 24th, 1862). Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen, born April 1st, 1815, belonged by birth to that minor Prussian nobility, rough and realistic, but faithful and disciplined, which has ever been one of the Prussian state's sources of strength. After irregular studies at the University of Göttingen, he had entered the administration, but had not been able to stay in it, and had lived on his rather moderate estates until 1847. The Diet of that year, to which he had been elected, brought him into prominence. There he distinguished himself in the Junker (landed gentry) party by his marked contempt for the Liberalism then in vogue and his insolence to the Liberals. Frederick William IV entrusted him with representing Prussia at Frankfort (1851-59), where he assumed the same attitude toward the Austrians. He was afterward ambassador at St Petersburg, and had just been sent to Paris in the same capacity when he became Prime Minister.

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His character was a marked one. In it was evident a taste for sarcastic raillery and a sort of frankness, apparently brutal, but really more refined than cruel. His qualities were those of all great politicians, embracing energy, decision, and realism; that is, talent for appreciating all things at their proper value and for not letting himself be duped either by appearances, by current theories, or by words. Very unfavourably received by the parliament, he paid little heed to the furious opposition of the deputies, causing to be promulgated by ordinance the budget which they refused him, suppressing hostile newspapers, treating his adversaries with studied insolence, and declaring to them that, if the Chamber had its rights, the king also had his, and that force must settle the matter in such a case. To get rid of these barren struggles, he took advantage of the first incident of foreign politics. The Schleswig-Holstein question furnished him with the desired opportunity.

### THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION

This was the first of the various important questions of international policy in which Bismarck became concerned. The united provinces of Schleswig-Holstein, lying on the southern border of Denmark, had long been notable as a source of continual strife between her and Germany. The majority of the inhabitants of Schleswig were Danes, but those of Holstein were very largely Germans, and the question of their true national affiliation lay open from the time of their original union in 1386. It became insistent after the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Treaty of London in 1852 had maintained the union of Holstein with Denmark, but did not put a definite end to the demands of the Germans, who held that it was a constituent part of Germany. The quarrel was renewed in 1855 over a common constitution given by King Frederick VII to all his states. This was abolished in 1858, and in 1863 the Danes,

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in defiance of the Treaty of London, took steps which resulted in making Schleswig a mere province of their country. These steps at once led to a protest from the German Diet.

In all this there was food for an indefinite contest, for, on the one hand, Schleswig did not form a part of the Confederation, but, on the other, certain historical bonds attached it to Holstein, and its population was mixed. The death of Frederick VII (November 15th, 1863), who was succeeded by a distant relative, Christian IX, further complicated the quarrel. The Duke of Augustenburg claimed the three duchies, though he had previously renounced them. The German Diet, on its part, wanted the Danish constitution abolished in Schleswig.

The dream of the petty German states hostile to Prussia, and especially of the Saxon minister, Von Beust, was to strengthen their party by the creating of a new duchy. Bismarck admirably outplayed everybody. He knew that the Great Powers were at odds with one another over Poland, and he had very cleverly made sure of Russia's friendship. Great Britain took no active part in the struggle, though had she been able to count on the co-operation of France she might have done so. The Prince of Wales had recently married the daughter of Christian IX, afterward Queen Alexandra, and the people were for the most part in favour of going to the assistance of Denmark; but Queen Victoria, still largely influenced by her late husband, the Prince Consort, toward pro-German ideas, was not in favour of active interference and counselled peace and conferences.

At this stage, had the Danes yielded to the necessities of the situation and withdrawn from Schleswig under protest, the European Powers would probably have intervened and a congress would have restored Schleswig to the Danish realm. Bismarck prevented this by a cunning stratagem, and succeeded in inducing Denmark to remain defiant. As a consequence, on the 1st of February, 1864, the combined forces



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of Prussia and Austria crossed the Eider and invaded the province.

It was a movement to regain to Germany a section held to be non-Danish in population and retained by Denmark against the traditions and the will of its people. Austria had been easily drawn into the movement by Bismarck's shrewd policy. Though the matter did not directly appeal to her, she did not wish to appear less German than Prussia, as that would have been tantamount to her giving up all claim to being the premier German state; besides which, in the presence of the enmity of France she could not afford to risk a rupture with her powerful neighbour.

It was not the original intention to go beyond the borders of the duchies and invade Denmark, but when Christian IX tried to resist the invasion this was done. The Danewerk and the Schlei were forced, and the Danish army was defeated at Flensburg and driven back into Düppel, which was taken by assault. A truce was now arranged and a conference of the Great Powers was opened at London (April 25th to June 25th). Again through the astuteness of Bismarck it brought about no result, and through the very real fear of widely-extending complications throughout Europe none of the Powers could see its way to armed intervention. The war was resumed, and finally Jutland was invaded and conquered. Von Moltke was already preparing for a landing in Fuenen when Christian IX gave up all the duchies by the Vienna preliminaries (August 1st), confirmed by treaty on October 30th following.

### CONQUEST OF THE DUCHIES

The fate of the conquest remained to be decided upon. Bismarck settled it, after a pretence of investigation, by concluding that the rights of King Christian over the duchies were far superior to those of the Duke of Augustenburg, whose dynastic claim had been done away with by his father

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who had renounced the rights of himself and his family in return for an annuity, and that as Prussia and Austria had won them from the king by conquest, they had become the lawful owners. An agreement was made in which Holstein was assigned to Austria and Schleswig to Prussia, and for the time the question seemed settled.

### BISMARCK'S WIDER VIEWS

This was far from being the case. Bismarck held views of far more expanded scope. He wanted to exclude Austria from the German confederation, and to do so desired war with that country as the only practical means of gaining his ends. In 1865 he made the significant remark that a single battle in Bohemia would decide everything and that Prussia would win that battle. A remark like this was indicative of the purpose entertained and the events soon to follow.

In such a war, however, it was important to secure the neutrality of France. The alert Prussian statesman had already assured himself of that of Russia. To gain France to his side he held an interview with Napoleon III at Biarritz in October, 1865. Little is known of what actually happened at this secret conference of two, but what is certain is that Bismarck came away with the knowledge that he could count on France not attacking him, and also on her using her influence on Italy to second him actively in his schemes against Austria. It is certain too, whatever Napoleon may have thought, that Bismarck did *not* promise to compensate him either by the cession of any part of German territory west of the Rhine, or by the acquisition of Belgium; but that Napoleon should imagine this to be the case was, of course, all to the good, from Bismarck's point of view. Napoleon's object was to intervene as a peacemaker at the end of the war, when he would be in such a position that he could make sure that in the rearrangement of territory that would take place France would not be left out in the cold.

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Whatever Napoleon's views, Bismarck saw that he was safe from any interference on the part of France, and returned with the fixed design of driving Austria to the wall.

### WAR FORCED ON AUSTRIA

Steps were at once taken by Bismarck toward the alliance with Italy, and Austria, getting wind of this movement and realizing what it meant, resolved to take measures accordingly. So, to ingratiate herself with the lesser German states, she made common cause with them in the matter of the promotion of the Duke of Augustenburg's claims on Schleswig-Holstein. Nothing could have suited Bismarck better; it was the excuse he wanted. He hurried on his treaty with Italy and before long it was agreed that if Prussia found herself at war with Austria within the three months following Italy should go to her assistance.

Meanwhile Austria had ordered a partial mobilization of her forces, a step which called forth a similar order on the part of Prussia.

Bismarck was now invited to lay the Austro-Prussian dispute before the Diet; he answered by asking that an assembly elected by universal suffrage be called to discuss the question of federal reform. Austria then offered to disarm in Bohemia if Prussia would do so on its part, but Bismarck demanded, in addition, disarmament in Venetia, a condition he knew to be unacceptable. On May 7th, 1866, he declared he could not accept the Diet's intervention in the duchies question, and on the 8th ordered the mobilization of the entire Prussian army.

Napoleon III at this juncture proposed the holding of a congress for settling the duchies question and that of federal reform. Thiers had warned him in vain, in an admirable speech delivered on May 3rd, that France had everything to lose by aiding in bringing about the unity of Germany. The emperor obstinately persisted but his proposition failed



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through the refusal of Austria and the petty states to take part in it. On May 5th Austria made a desperate bid for Italy's neutrality; she offered her, through the Emperor Napoleon, the whole of Venetia. Italy's perplexity was extreme: she could obtain all she wanted without striking a blow; but to do so would mean the loss of her honour, the betraying of Prussia, and going back on that 'scrap of paper,' her treaty, and she refused.

Bismarck acted in a far clearer manner than the French Emperor. On June 5th, General von Gablenz, the Austrian governor of Holstein, convened the states of that country, Austria declaring that the object of this measure was to enable the Federal Diet to settle the question. A German force under General Manteuffel at once invaded the duchy and, having far superior forces at his disposal, took possession of it. On the 10th, Prussia asked the different German states to accept a new constitution based on the exclusion of Austria, the election of a parliament by universal suffrage, the creation of a strong federal power and a common army. The Diet, most of whose members were under the influence of Austria, answered by voting the federal execution against Prussia, a step which, in the circumstances, was clearly impolitic as well as unconstitutional. On this the Prussian envoy, Savigny, withdrew, declaring that his sovereign ceased to recognize the Confederation.

Events proved how correctly Bismarck had judged in his confidence in Prussia's military strength. The Prussian forces amounted to 330,000 men, who were to be aided in the south by 240,000 Italians. Austria had 335,000 troops and its German allies 146,000. Generally the last-named had little zeal.

The Austrian Government acted slowly, while its adversary vigorously assumed the offensive. On June 16th, after an unavailing notice, the Prussian troops invaded Saxony and occupied it without resistance, the Saxon army withdrawing



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to Bohemia. The same was the case in Hesse, whose Grand Duke was taken prisoner, while his army joined the Bavarians. Still less fortunate was the King of Hanover, who did not even save his army, which, also retreating toward the south, was surrounded and obliged to capitulate at Langensalza (June 29th).

In the south the Prussian General Vogel von Falkenstein, who had but 57,000 men against over a 100,000, took advantage of the fact that his adversaries had separated into two masses, the one at Frankfort and the other at Meiningen, to beat them separately, the Bavarians at Kissingen (July 10th) and the Prince of Hesse, commanding the other army, at Aschaffenburg (July 14th). On the 16th the Prussians entered Frankfort, which they overwhelmed with requisitions and demands for contributions. General Manteuffel, Falkenstein's successor, then drove the federal armies from the line of the Tauber, where they had united, back to Würzburg. On the 28th an armistice was concluded.

### THE WAR IN ITALY

The Italians had been less successful. Archduke Albert, who commanded in Venetia, had only 70,000 men, but they were Croatian Slavs, that is, Austria's best troops. Confronting him, Victor Emmanuel commanded 124,000 men on the Chiese and Cialdini 80,000 in the neighbourhood of Ferrara. They proved unable to act together. Cialdini let himself be kept in check by a mere handful of troops, while the Austrian archduke attacked the Italian royal army at Custoza. Serious errors in tactics and panic in an Italian brigade, which fled before three platoons of lancers that had the audacity to charge it, gave victory to the Austrians. Cialdini had remained behind the Po. Garibaldi, who had undertaken, with 36,000 men, to conquer the Trent region, defended by only 13,000 regulars and 4000 militia under General von Kuhn, found himself not only repulsed in every

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attack, but, had it not been for the evacuation of Venetia, would have been pursued on Italian territory. The battle of Lissa, which took place at sea, has been referred to in the preceding chapter.

### AUSTRIA'S SIGNAL DEFEAT AT KÖNIGGRÄTZ

It was not on these events that the outcome of the war was to depend, but on the victory or defeat of the chief Austrian army. The forces of the two Powers on the Silesian and Saxon frontier were almost equal; but the Austrian commander-in-chief, Benedek, brave and brilliant as a division leader, proved unequal to his present task. He dallied in Moravia until June 16th, while the Prussians entered Bohemia in two separate masses, one on each side of the Riesen Gebirge. Benedek wavered and blundered. He sent only 60,000 men against 150,000 under Prince Frederick Charles, and they suffered four defeats in as many days (June 26th–29th). At the same time he had made the same mistake in regard to the Crown Prince, who won in over half a dozen skirmishes. During the following night, June 29th–30th, the second Prussian army reached the Elbe. Benedek's incapacity was now completely demonstrated. He telegraphed to the emperor to make peace at any cost, and retreated on Olmütz. Then he changed his mind and decided to fight, seeking to throw the blame for his own errors on his subordinates. The battle-field chosen by him was between the village of Sadowa on the Bistritz and Königgrätz on the Elbe, and here his army, though sadly demoralized, fought with much bravery. The Austrians, whom their general had notified of the imminent battle only in the middle of the night, had fortified the slopes and villages as best they could. At eight in the morning Frederick Charles began the attack by crossing the Bistritz. Benedek's centre resisted, but the right and left wings lost ground. At half-past eleven the Prussians were losing

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ground and seemed ready to retreat. At this critical moment the army of the Crown Prince appeared, coming from the north.

The second and sixth Austrian corps, obliged to confront the new troops with a flank march under the fire of the Prussian artillery, could not hold out long, and about three o'clock the strongest Austrian position was lost. It was necessary at any cost to regain it, but all efforts failed against their own entrenchments, defended by the captors with desperate energy. At half-past four retreat became necessary. Half of the Austrian army escaped without much difficulty; but the rest, three army corps, driven toward the Elbe by the entire victorious army, would have been annihilated but for the devotedness of the cavalry and the artillerymen. These formed successive firing lines, and continued to shoot until the muzzles of their guns were reached, saving the infantry from destruction through dint of dying at their posts. Despite this diversion it was a frightful rout, which cost the vanquished 40,000 men and over 170 pieces of artillery. The Prussians lost only 10,000 dead and wounded.

### THE TREATY OF PRAGUE

The Austrians tried to fall back on Vienna, but only three corps out of eight reached there, as the Prussian army by a rapid march had forced the others to seek refuge at Presburg. On July 18th the Prussian armies were concentrated on the Russbach. Archduke Albert, recalled from Italy, had taken command of the troops covering Vienna, but the internal condition of the empire, where Hungary was in agitation, was too disquieting for it to be possible, without aid, to continue the war. Napoleon could have put a hundred thousand men on foot immediately, and, later on, Bismarck acknowledged that this would have sufficed to change the result; but he was ill and swayed between opposing in-



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fluences. His son, the Prince Imperial, whom he heeded very much, was decidedly in favour of Prussia. Accordingly, no step was taken but an offer of mediation. Then he had the weakness, in spite of his Foreign Minister, Drouyn de Lhuys, to consent to the annexations which Prussia wished to bring about in northern Germany. He asked, however, that Austria should lose only Venetia, but Bismarck had already, not without difficulty, persuaded the king that he must not make territorial demands for himself or others that would cause a feeling of degradation and bitterness to be left in the hearts of the Austrians, and so compromise the alliance that his scheming brain was projecting with them, and that he afterward realized.

On July 26th the peace preliminaries of Nikolsburg were signed. Austria paid a considerable indemnity, abandoned its former position in Germany, acknowledged the extension of Prussian authority to the line of the Main and the small annexations which Prussia made for the purpose of rectifying its frontier. The three Danish duchies were likewise abandoned; it was stipulated only that the inhabitants of northern Schleswig should be consulted as to their wish to be restored or not to Denmark, but this was never done. Napoleon made a bid for compensation and was promptly snubbed by Bismarck, and the definitive treaty was signed on August 25th at Prague. As for Italy, Francis Joseph had ceded Venetia to Napoleon III, who was to transmit it to Victor Emmanuel, but the Italians protested loudly against the idea of being satisfied with so little. They wanted in addition at least the Trent country. "Have you, then," Bismarck said to them, "lost another battle to claim a province more?" On August 10th the preliminaries of peace were signed by Austria and Italy, and the final treaty, that of Vienna, was concluded on October 3rd, 1866.



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

### GERMANY AFTER 1866

Prussia, now master of Germany, annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the city of Frankfort, which increased its population by four and a half millions. The rest of the northern states as far as the Main were to form under its direction the Confederation of Northern Germany (proclaimed July 1st, 1867), with a constitution exactly the same as that of the German empire of to-day. As for the southern states, they remained independent, but Bismarck was not slow in making secret treaties with them for both offensive and defensive purposes. Napoleon III, as we have seen, tried in vain to obtain compensation for that enormous increase of power. He wanted the Palatinate, and to the first overtures which he made, Bismarck answered with a flat refusal and a threat of war. There were some secret negotiations between them, however, concerning an enlargement of France at the expense of Belgium, but to this day it is a matter of doubt from which party the suggestion (which, of course, was fruitless of result) emanated.

Bismarck had succeeded in humbling Austria and reducing its importance among the Great Powers of Europe, and had expanded Prussia alike on the north and south and made it decisively the ruling nation in Central Europe. As we have seen, it had concluded military agreements with the states of southern Germany. It held them also in another manner, namely, by means of a union of the states for the maintenance of uniform customs duties and mutual free trade, known as the Zollverein, signed anew on June 4th, 1867.

But Prussia was as yet far from having brought about a peaceful realization of unity. The southern states, not merely the sovereigns only, but the peoples as well, while in mortal terror of their powerful French neighbours, had always shown little taste for Prussian leadership, and after 1866 this feeling was very visible. It was for that reason that Bismarck had need of a war against France to strengthen

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his position. Union against the foreigner was the cement with which he hoped to complete political unity. Such a war came near breaking out in 1867 in relation to Luxemburg. Napoleon III keenly desired to have at least that country as compensation for Prussia's aggrandizements, and the King of Holland was disposed to cede his rights over the duchy for a consideration. But Bismarck, after having secretly approved of the bargain, officially declared his opposition to it. Napoleon, hampered at one and the same time by the Paris Exhibition of that year and by the bad condition of his army, was too happy to escape from embarrassment, since it was evident that the Prussians were not willing to evacuate the fortress of Luxemburg, by obtaining with the aid of the other Powers that the little duchy be declared neutral and the walls of its capital destroyed.

In spite of this arrangement, it remained patent to everybody that a conflict would break out in a short time between France and Prussia. We have seen what reasons Bismarck had for the methods pursued and projected by him. Napoleon III's government, justly censured by opinion for the weakness which it had shown in 1866, and constantly losing its authority, was destined to fall into the first trap its adversary would set for it. What this trap was and the momentous events to which it led will be described in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

#### BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

*French Unpreparedness : Discontent in France : Causes of Hostile Relations : War with Prussia declared : Self-deception of the French : First Meeting of the Armies : The Stronghold of Metz : Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte : Napoleon III at Sedan : Surrender of Napoleon's Army : The Emperor a Captive—France a Republic : Bismarck refuses Intervention : Fall of the Fortresses : Paris is besieged : Gambetta in Command : Defiant Spirit of the French : The Struggle continued : Operations before Paris : Fighting in the South : The War at an End*

THE war of 1866 led, as we have seen, to the absorption by Prussia of the weaker neighbouring states, the formation of a North German League among the remaining states of the north, and the offensive and defensive alliance of Prussia with the South German states. By the treaty of peace with Austria, that Power was excluded from the German League, and Prussia remained dominant in Germany. A constitution for the League was adopted in 1867, providing for a Diet, or legislative council, elected by the direct votes of the people, and an army, which was to be under the command of the Prussian King and subject to the military laws of Prussia. Each state in the League bound itself to supply a specified sum for the support of the army.

Here was a union with a backbone—an army and a budget—and Bismarck had done more in the five years of his ministry in forming a united Germany than his predecessors had done in fifty years. But the idea of union and alliance between kindred states was then widely in the air. Such a union had been practically completed in Italy, and Hungary in 1867 regained her ancient rights, which had been taken from her in 1849, being given a separate government, with Francis

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Joseph, the Emperor of Austria, as its king. It was natural that the common blood of the Germans should lead them to a political confederation, and equally natural that Prussia, which so overshadowed the smaller states in strength, should be the leading element in the alliance.

### FRENCH UNPREPAREDNESS

At the close of the previous chapter we saw how, and why, the bitter spirit of antagonism arose between Prussia and France. We saw what reasons Bismarck had for war, and that Napoleon III's government, justly censured by opinion for the weakness which it had shown in 1866, was eager to retrieve the fault it had then committed. But the weakness of the administration continued and prevented it from adopting the indispensable military measures that it should have taken. The enemies of power were declaiming against standing armies, which they declared useless. The government deputies were afraid to dissatisfy their constituents by aggravating the burdens of the service. Marshal Niel, Minister of War, tried indeed to adopt measures with a view to the seemingly inevitable conflict. He caused to be elaborated a plan of campaign, a system of transportation by railway, an arrangement for the chief places of the east to be armed with rifled cannon. But the Chamber grudged him the appropriations for the increase of the army, asking him if "he wished to make France a vast barracks." "Take care," he answered the opposition, "lest you make it a vast cemetery." Accordingly, when the mobile National Guard had been created, made up of all the young men who had not been drawn by lot, organization was given to it only on paper, and it was never drilled. Lebœuf, who succeeded Niel in August, 1869, abandoned, moreover, most of his predecessor's plans. He even neglected to do anything toward carrying out on the eastern frontier any of the works of defence already recommended as urgent by the generals of the Restoration.



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

And thus time passed on until the eventful year 1870. By that year Prussia had completed its work among the North German states and was ready for the issue of hostilities, if this should be necessary. On the other hand, Napoleon, who had found his prestige in France from various causes decreasing, felt obliged in 1870 to depart from his policy of personal rule and give that country a constitutional government. This proposal was submitted to a vote of the people and was sustained by an immense majority. He also took occasion to state that "peace was never more assured than at the present time." This assurance gave satisfaction to the world, yet it was a false one, for war was probably at that moment assured.

### DISCONTENT IN FRANCE

There were alarming signs in France. The opposition to Napoleonism was steadily gaining power. A bad harvest was threatened—a serious source of discontent. The parliament was discussing the reversal of the sentence of banishment against the Orleans family. These indications of a change in public sentiment appeared to call for some act that would aid in restoring the popularity of the emperor. And of all the acts that could be devised a national war seemed the most promising. If the Rhine frontier, which every Frenchman regarded as the natural boundary of the empire, could be regained by the arms of the nation, discontent and opposition would vanish, the name of Napoleon would win back its old prestige, and the reign of Bonapartism would be firmly established.

Acts speak louder than words, and the acts of Napoleon were not in accord with his assurances of peace. Extensive military preparations began, and the forces of the empire were strengthened by land and sea, while great trust was placed in a new weapon, of murderous powers, called the *mitrailleuse*, the predecessor of the machine gun, and capable of discharging twenty-five charges without reloading.



THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

*Photo Record Press*



# THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

## CAUSES OF HOSTILE RELATIONS

On the other hand, there were abundant indications of discontent in Germany, where a variety of parties inveighed against the rapacious policy of Prussia, and where Bismarck had sown a deep crop of hate. It was believed in France that the minor states would not support Prussia in a war. In Austria the defeat of 1866 rankled, and hostilities against Prussia on the part of France seemed certain to win sympathy and support in that composite empire. Colonel Stoffel, the French military envoy at Berlin, declared that Prussia would be found abundantly prepared for a struggle; but his warnings went unheeded in the French Cabinet, and the warlike preparations continued.

Napoleon did not have to go far for an excuse for the war upon which he was resolved. One was prepared for him in that potent source of trouble, the succession to the throne of Spain. In that country there had for years been no end of trouble, revolts, Carlist risings, wars, and rumours of wars. The government of Queen Isabella, with its endless intrigues, plots, and alternation of despotism and anarchy, and the pronounced immorality of the queen, had become so distasteful to the people that finally, after several years of revolts and armed risings, she was driven from her throne by a revolution, and for a time Spain was without a monarch and was ruled on republican principles.

But this arrangement did not prove satisfactory. The party in opposition looked around for a king, and after various unsuccessful attempts negotiations were opened with a distant relative of the Prussian royal family, Leopold of Hohenzollern. Prince Leopold, after refusing, accepted the offer, and informed the King of Prussia of his decision.

The news of this event caused great excitement in Paris, and the Prussian Government was advised of the painful feeling the to which incident had given rise. The answer from Berlin that the Prussian Government had no concern



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in the matter, and that Prince Leopold was free to act on his own account, did not allay the excitement. The demand for war grew violent and clamorous, the feeble voices of the opposition in the Chambers were drowned, and the journalists and war partisans were confident of a short and glorious campaign and a triumphant march to Berlin. The empress was one of the most insistent in the demand for war. She realized fully that the throne depended upon it, and that it would be only through the success of the eagles of France that her son would ever wear a crown.

The hostile feeling was reduced when King William of Prussia, though he declined to prohibit Prince Leopold from accepting the crown, expressed his concurrence with the decision of the prince when he withdrew his acceptance of the dangerous offer. For a brief space this decision was regarded as sufficient, and Bismarck, who was even more anxious for war than the most bellicose of the French fire-eaters, trembled lest his prey should escape him. France, however, seemingly bent on her own destruction and the gratification of the Iron Chancellor, would not let well alone, but sent a most peremptory and foolish message to the King of Prussia, telling him that she would be satisfied with nothing less than a declaration from him that he would never at any future time allow the candidature of Prince Leopold to be advanced.

### WAR WITH PRUSSIA DECLARED

Satisfaction for this possible source of offence in the future was demanded, but King William firmly refused to say any more on the subject and declined to stand in the way of Prince Leopold if he should again accept the offer of the Spanish throne. The refusal was made personally at Ems by the king to the French ambassador, Benedetti, on July 13th. It was accepted by the ambassador, and Bismarck was once more put into a state of fear lest the war should,

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after all, not take place. But fortune again favoured the schemer. King William sent him a telegram informing him of his interview with Benedetti and its result. The Chancellor saw his opportunity, and seized it. He took the telegram, and, without altering a single word in it, made such deletions that it appeared to the French that William had deeply insulted France, and to the Germans that France, in the person of her ambassador, had deeply insulted Germany. This he published in the evening's papers in Berlin; it was copied by the Paris papers next morning and the effect was instantaneous. The reserves were called out, the necessary measures taken to secure the honour and security of France, and when the declaration of war was hurled against Prussia the whole nation seemed in harmony with it, and public opinion appeared for once to have become unanimous throughout France.

Rarely in the history of the world has so trivial a cause given rise to such stupendous military and political events as took place in France in a brief interval following this blind leap into hostilities. Instead of a triumphant march to Berlin and the dictation of peace from its palace, France was to find itself in two months' time without an emperor or an army, and in a few months more completely subdued and occupied by foreign troops, while Paris had been made the scene of a terrible siege and a frightful communistic riot, and a Republic had succeeded the Empire. It was such a series of events as have seldom been compressed within the short interval of half a year.

In truth Napoleon and his advisers were blinded by their hopes to the true state of affairs. The army on which they depended, and which they assumed to be in a high state of efficiency and discipline, was lacking in almost every requisite of an efficient force. The first Napoleon had been his own Minister of War. The third Napoleon, when told by his War Minister that "not a single button was wanted on a

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single gaiter," took the words for the fact, and hurled an army without supplies and organization against the most thoroughly organized army the world had ever known. That the French were as brave as the Germans goes without saying; they fought desperately, but from the first confusion reigned in their movements, while military science of the highest kind dominated those of the Germans.

Napoleon was equally mistaken as to the state of affairs in Germany. The disunion upon which he counted vanished at the first threat of war. All Germany felt itself threatened and joined hands in defence. The declaration of war was received there with as deep an enthusiasm as in France and excited a fervent eagerness for the struggle. The new popular song, *Die Wacht am Rhein* ("The Watch on the Rhine"), spread rapidly from end to end of the country, and indicated the resolution of the German people to defend to the death the frontier stream of their country.

### SELF-DECEPTION OF THE FRENCH

The French looked for a parade march to Berlin, even fixing the day of their entrance into that city—August 15th, the emperor's birthday. On the contrary, they failed to set their foot on German territory, and soon found themselves engaged in a death struggle with the invaders of their own land. As for the Prussians, their diplomacy was conducted by Bismarck, the ablest statesman Prussia had ever known, and the movements of the army were directed by far the best tactician Europe then possessed, the famous Von Moltke, to whose strategy the rapid success of the war against Austria had been due. In the war with France Von Moltke, though too old to lead the armies in person, was virtually commander-in-chief, and arranged those masterly combinations which overthrew all the power of France in so remarkably brief a period. Under his directions, from the moment war was declared, everything worked with clock-like precision. It



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was said that Von Moltke had only to touch a bell and all went forward. As it was, the Crown Prince Frederick fell upon the French while still unprepared, won the first battle, and steadily held the advantage to the end, the French being beaten by the strategy that kept the Germans in superior strength at all decisive points.

But to return to the events of war. On July 23rd, 1870, the Emperor Napoleon, after making his wife Eugénie regent of France, set out with his son at the head of the army, full of high hopes of victory and triumph. By the end of July King William had also set out from Berlin to join the armies that were then in rapid motion toward the frontier.

The emperor made his way to Metz, where was stationed his main army, about 150,000 strong, under Marshal Bazaine. At Strasburg Marshal MacMahon, the hero of Magenta, was in command of about 50,000 men. A third army of 40,000 reserves occupied the camp at Châlons, while a well-manned fleet set sail for the Baltic, to blockade the harbours and assail the coast of Germany. The German army was likewise in three divisions, the first, of 61,000 men, under General Steinmetz; the second, of nearly 200,000 men, under Prince Frederick Charles; and the third, of 180,000 men, under the Crown Prince and General Blumenthal. The king, commander-in-chief of the whole, was in the centre, and with him the general staff under the guidance of the alert Von Moltke. Bismarck and the Minister of War, Von Roon, were also present, and so rapid was the movement of these great forces that in two weeks after the order to march was given 300,000 armed Germans stood in rank along the Rhine.

### FIRST MEETING OF THE ARMIES

The two armies first came together on August 2nd, near Saarbrücken, on the frontier line of the hostile kingdoms. It was the one success of the French, for the Prussians, after a fight in which both sides lost equally, retired in good order.



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This was proclaimed by the French papers as a brilliant victory, and filled the people with undue hopes of glory, for they were quickly overwhelmed with tidings of defeat and disaster.

Weissenburg, on the borders of Rhenish Bavaria, had been invested by a division of MacMahon's army. On August 4th the right wing of the army of the Crown Prince Frederick attacked and repulsed this investing force after a hot engagement, in which its leader, General Douay, was killed, and the loss on both sides was heavy. Two days later occurred a battle which decided the fate of the whole war, that of Wörth, where the army of the Crown Prince met that of MacMahon, and after a desperate struggle, which continued for fifteen hours, completely defeated him, with very heavy losses on both sides. MacMahon retreated in haste toward the army at Châlons, while the Crown Prince took possession of Alsace, and prepared for the reduction of the fortresses on the Rhine, from Strasburg to Belfort. On the same day as that of the battle of Wörth, General Steinmetz stormed the heights of Spicheren, and, though at great loss of life, drove Frossard from those heights and back upon Metz.

The occupation of Alsace was followed by that of Lorraine, by the Prussian army under King William, who took possession of Nancy and the country surrounding on August 11th. These two provinces had at one time belonged to Germany and it was the aim of the Prussians to retain them as the chief prize of the war. Meanwhile the world looked on in amazement at the extraordinary rapidity of the German success, which, in two weeks after Napoleon left Paris, had brought his power to the verge of overthrow.

### THE STRONGHOLD OF METZ

Toward the Moselle and the strongly fortified town of Metz, 180 miles north-east of Paris, around which was concen-

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trated the main French force, all the divisions of the German army now advanced, and on the 14th of August they gained a victory at Colombey which drove their opponents back from the open field toward the fortified city.

It was Moltke's opinion that the French proposed to make their stand before this impregnable fortress, and fight there desperately for victory. But, finding less resistance than he expected, he concluded, on the 15th, that Bazaine, in fear of being cooped up within the fortress, meant to march toward Verdun, there to join his forces with those of MacMahon and give battle to the Germans in the plain.

The astute tactician at once determined to make every effort to prevent such a concentration of his opponents, and by the evening of the 15th a cavalry division had crossed the Moselle and reached the village of Mars-la-Tour, where it bivouacked for the night. It had seen troops in motion towards Metz, but did not know whether these formed the rear-guard of the French army or its vanguard in its march toward Verdun.

In fact, Bazaine had not yet got away with his army. All the roads from Metz were blocked with heavy baggage, and it was impossible to move so large an army with expedition. The time thus lost by Bazaine was diligently improved by Frederick Charles, and on the morning of the 16th the Brandenburg army corps, one of the best and bravest in the German army, had followed the cavalry and come within sight of the Verdun road. It was quickly perceived that a French force was before them, and some preliminary skirmishing revealed the enemy in such strength that the leader of the corps was convinced that he had in his front the whole or the greater part of Bazaine's army, and that its escape from Metz had not been achieved.

They were desperate odds with which the brave Brandenburgers had to contend, but they had been sent to hold the French until reinforcements could arrive, and they were

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determined to resist to the death. For nearly six hours they resisted, with unsurpassed courage, the fierce onslaughts of the French, though at a cost of life that perilously depleted the gallant corps. Then, about four o'clock in the afternoon, Prince Frederick Charles came up with reinforcements to their support and the desperate contest became more even.

### MARS-LA-TOUR AND GRAVELOTTE

Gradually fortune decided in favour of the Germans, and by the time night had come they were practically victorious, the field of Mars-la-Tour, after the day's struggle, remaining in their hands. But they were utterly exhausted, their horses were worn out, and most of their ammunition was spent, and though their impetuous commander forced them to a new attack, it led to a useless loss of life, for their powers of fighting were gone. They had achieved their purpose, that of preventing the escape of Bazaine, though at a fearful loss, amounting to about 16,000 men on each side. "The battle of Vionville [Mars-la-Tour] is without a parallel in military history," said Emperor William, "seeing that a single army corps, about 20,000 men strong, hung on to and repulsed an enemy more than five times as numerous and well equipped. Such was the glorious deed done by the Brandenburgers, and the Hohenzollerns will never forget the debt they owe to their devotion."

Two days afterward (August 18th), at Gravelotte, a village a little nearer to Metz, the armies, somewhat recovered from their terrible struggles, met again, the whole German army being now brought up, so that over 200,000 men faced the 140,000 of the French. It was the great battle of the war. For four hours the two armies stood fighting face to face, without any special result, neither being able to drive back the other. The French held their ground and died. The Prussians dashed upon them and died. Only late in the evening was the right wing of the French army broken, and



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the victory, which at five o'clock remained uncertain, was decided in favour of the Germans. More than 30,000 men lay dead and wounded upon the field, the terrible harvest of those nine hours of conflict. That night Bazaine withdrew his army behind the fortifications at Metz. His effort to join MacMahon had ended in failure.

It was the fixed purpose of the Prussians to detain him in that stronghold, and thus render its largest army practically useless to France. A siege was to be prosecuted, and an army of 150,000 men was extended around the town. The fortifications were far too strong to be taken by assault, and all depended on a close blockade. On August 31st Bazaine made an effort to break through the German lines, but was repulsed. It became now a question of how long the provisions of the French would hold out.

### NAPOLEON III AT SEDAN

The French Emperor, who had been with Bazaine, was now with MacMahon at Châlons, where lay an army of 125,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. On it the Germans were advancing, in doubt as to what movement it would make, whether back toward Paris or toward Metz for the relief of Bazaine. They sought to place themselves in a position to check either attempt. The latter movement was determined on by the French, but was carried out in a dubious and uncertain manner, the time lost giving abundant opportunity to the Germans to learn what was afoot and to prepare to prevent it. As soon as they were aware of MacMahon's intention of proceeding to Metz they made speedy preparations to prevent his relieving Bazaine. By the last days of August the army of the Crown Prince had reached the right bank of the Aisne, and the fourth division gained possession of the line of the Meuse. On August 30th the French under General de Failly were attacked by the Germans at Beaumont and put to flight with heavy loss.



## THE NATIONS AT WAR

It was evident that the hope of reaching Metz was at an end, and MacMahon, abandoning the attempt, concentrated his army around the frontier fortress of Sedan.

This old town stands on the right bank of the Meuse, in an angle of territory between Luxemburg and Belgium, and is surrounded by meadows, gardens, ravines, and cultivated fields, the castle rising on a cliff-like eminence to the south-west of the place. MacMahon had stopped here to give his weary men a rest, not to fight, but Von Moltke decided, on observing the situation, that Sedan should be the graveyard of the French army. "The trap is now closed, and the mouse in it," he said, with a chuckle of satisfaction.

Such proved to be the case. On September 1st the Bavarians won the village of Bazeille, after hours of bloody and desperate struggle. During this severe fight Marshal MacMahon was so seriously wounded that he was obliged to surrender the chief command, first to Ducrot, and then to General Wimpffen, a man of recognized bravery and cold calculation.

Fortune soon showed itself in favour of the Germans. To the north-west of the town, the North German troops invested the exits from St Menges and Fleigneux, and directed a fearful fire of artillery against the French forces, which, before noon, were so hemmed in the valley that only two insufficient outlets to the south and north remained open. But General Wimpffen hesitated to seize either of these routes; the open way to Illy was soon closed by the Prussian Guard corps, and a murderous fire was now directed from all sides upon the French, so that, after a last energetic struggle, they gave up all attempts to force a passage, and in the afternoon beat a retreat toward Sedan. In this small town the whole army of MacMahon was collected by evening, and there prevailed in the streets and houses an unprecedented disorder and confusion, which was still further

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increased when the German troops from the surrounding heights began to shoot down upon the fortress, and the town took fire in several places.

### SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON'S ARMY

That an end might be put to the prevailing misery, Napoleon now commanded General Wimpffen to capitulate. The flag of truce already waved on the gates of Sedan when Colonel Bronsart appeared, and in the name of the King of Prussia demanded the surrender of the army and fortress. He soon returned to headquarters, accompanied by the French General Reille, who presented to the king a written message from Napoleon: "As I may not die in the midst of my army, I lay my sword in the hands of your majesty." King William accepted it with an expression of sympathy for the hard fate of the emperor and of the French army which had fought so bravely under his own eyes. The conclusion of the treaty of capitulation was placed in the hands of Wimpffen, who, accompanied by General Castelnau, set out for Donchery to negotiate with Moltke and Bismarck. No attempts, however, availed to move Moltke from his stipulation for the surrender of the whole army at discretion; he granted a short respite, but if this expired without surrender, the bombardment of the town was to begin anew.

At six o'clock in the morning the capitulation was signed and was ratified by the king at his headquarters at Vendresse (2nd September). Thus the world beheld the incredible spectacle of an army of 81,000 men surrendering themselves and their weapons to the victor, and being carried off as prisoners of war to Germany. Only the officers who gave their written word of honour to take no further part in the present war with Germany were permitted to retain their arms and personal property. Probably the assurance of Napoleon, that he had sought death on the battle-field but had not found it, was literally true; at any rate, the fate of

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the unhappy man, bowed down as he was both by physical and mental suffering, was so solemn and tragic that there was no room for hypocrisy, and that he had exposed himself to personal danger was admitted on all sides. Accompanied by Count Bismarck, he stopped at a small and mean-looking labourer's inn on the road to Donchery, where, sitting down on a seat before the door with the German Chancellor, he declared that he had not desired the war, but had been driven to it through the force of public opinion ; and afterward the two proceeded to the little castle of Bellevue, near Frénois, to join King William and the Crown Prince. A telegram to Queen Augusta thus describes the interview : " What an impressive moment was the meeting with Napoleon ! He was cast down, but dignified in his bearing. I have granted him Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, as his residence. Our meeting took place in a little castle before the western glacis of Sedan."

### THE EMPEROR A CAPTIVE—FRANCE A REPUBLIC

The locking up of Bazaine in Metz and the capture of MacMahon's army at Sedan were events fatal to France. The struggle continued for months, but it was a fight against hope. The subsequent events of the war consisted of the investment of Metz, Paris, and Strasburg, with various minor sieges, and a desperate but hopeless effort of France in the field. As for the empire of Napoleon III, it was at an end. The tidings of the terrible catastrophe at Sedan filled the people with a fury that soon became revolutionary. While Jules Favre, the republican deputy, was offering a motion in the Assembly that the emperor had forfeited the crown, and that a provisional government should be established, the people were thronging the streets of Paris with cries of " Deposition ! Republic ! " On the 4th of September the Assembly had its final meeting. Two of its prominent members, Jules Favre and Gambetta, sustained the motion



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for deposition of the emperor, and it was carried after a stormy session. They then made their way to the senate-chamber, where, before a thronging audience, they proclaimed a republic and named a government for the national defence. At its head was General Trochu, military commandant at Paris. Favre was made Minister of Foreign Affairs; Gambetta, Minister of the Interior; and other prominent members of the Assembly filled the remaining Cabinet posts. The legislature was dissolved, the Palais de Bourbon was closed, and the Empress Eugénie quitted the Tuileries and made her escape with a few attendants to Belgium, whence she sought a refuge in England. Prince Louis Napoleon made his way to Italy, and the swarm of courtiers scattered in all directions; some faithful followers of the deposed monarch seeking the castle of Wilhelmshöhe, where the unhappy Louis Napoleon occupied as a prison the same beautiful palace and park in which his uncle, Jerome Bonaparte, had once passed six years in a life of pleasure. The second French Empire was at an end; the third French Republic had begun—one that had to pass through many changes and escape many dangers before it would be firmly established.

“Not a foot’s breadth of our country nor a stone of our fortresses shall be surrendered,” was Jules Favre’s defiant proclamation to the invaders, and as many soldiers as possible were collected in Paris, and strengthened with all available reinforcements. Every person capable of bearing arms was enrolled in the national army, which soon numbered 400,000 men. There was need of haste, for the victors at Sedan were already marching upon the capital, inspired with high hopes from their previous astonishing success. They knew that Paris was strongly fortified, but they trusted that hunger would soon bring its garrison to terms. The same result was looked for at Metz and at Strasburg, which, as we have said, were also besieged.



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Thus began at three main points and several minor ones a military siege the difficulties, dangers, and hardships of which surpassed even those of the winter campaign in the Crimea. Exposed at the advance-guards to the enemy's fire, chained to arduous labour in the trenches and redoubts, and suffering from the effects of bad weather and insufficient food and clothing, the German soldiers were compelled to undergo great privations and sufferings before the fortifications; while many fell in the frequent skirmishes and sallies, many more succumbed to typhus and epidemic disease.

No less painful and distressing was the condition of the besieged. While the garrison soldiers on guard were constantly compelled to face death in night attacks, or led a pitiable existence in damp huts, having inevitable surrender constantly before their eyes, and disarmament and imprisonment as the reward of all their struggles and exertions, the citizens of Paris, the women and children, were in constant danger of being struck by fragments of the fearful shells, or of being buried under falling walls and roofs; and the poorer part of the population saw with dismay the gradual diminution of the necessaries of life, and were often compelled to pacify their hunger with the flesh of horses, and disgusting and unwholesome food.

### BISMARCK REFUSES INTERVENTION

The republican government possessed only a usurped power, and Bismarck would allow none but a freely elected National Assembly to decide as to whether the war should be continued or not. Such an Assembly was therefore summoned for the 16th of October. Three members of the government—Crémieux, Fourichon, and Glais-Bizoin—were dispatched, before the entire blockade of the city had been effected, to Tours, to maintain communication with the provinces. An attempt was also made at the same time to induce the Great Powers which had not taken part in the war to organize an

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intervention, as hitherto only America, Switzerland, and Spain had sent official recognition. For this important and delicate mission the old statesman and historian Thiers was selected, and, in spite of his three-and-seventy years, immediately set out on the journey to London, St Petersburg, Vienna, and Florence. Count Bismarck, however, in the name of Prussia, refused to permit any intervention in internal affairs. In two dispatches to the ambassadors of foreign courts, the Chancellor declared that the war, begun by the Emperor Napoleon, had been approved by the representatives of the nation, and that thus all France was answerable for the result. Germany was obliged, therefore, to demand guarantees which should secure her in future against attack, or, at any rate, render attack more difficult. Thus a cession of territory on the part of France was laid down as the basis of a treaty of peace. The neutral Powers were also led to the belief that if they fostered in the French any hope of intervention, peace would only be delayed. The mission of Thiers, therefore, yielded no useful result, while the direct negotiation which Jules Favre conducted with Bismarck proved equally unavailing.

### FALL OF THE FORTRESSES

Soon the beleaguered fortresses began to fall. On the 23rd of September the ancient town of Toul, in Lorraine, was forced to capitulate, after a fearful bombardment; and on the 27th Strasburg, in danger of the terrible results of a storming, after the havoc of a dreadful artillery fire, hoisted the white flag, and was entered by the Germans on the following day. The supposed impregnable fortress of Metz held out a day or two longer. Hunger did what cannon were incapable of doing. The successive sallies made by Bazaine proved unavailing, though, on October 7th, his soldiers fought with desperate energy, and for hours the air was full of the roar of cannon and mitrailleuses and the rattle

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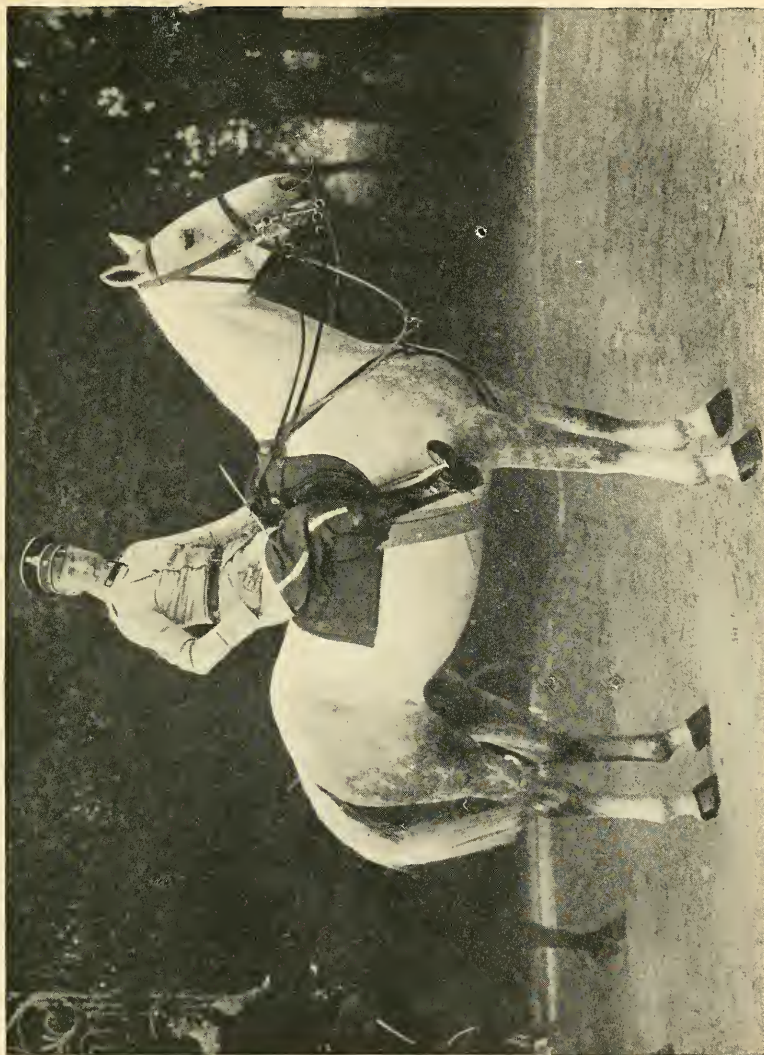
of musketry. But the Germans withstood the attack unmoved, and the French were forced to withdraw into the town.

Bazaine then sought to negotiate with the German leaders at Versailles, offering to take no part in the war for three months if permitted to withdraw. But Bismarck and Moltke would listen to no terms other than unconditional surrender, and these terms were finally accepted, the besieged army having reached the brink of starvation. It was with horror and despair that France learned, on the 30th of October, that the citadel of Metz, with its fortifications and arms of defence, had been yielded to the Germans, and its army of more than 175,000 men had surrendered as prisoners of war. This hasty surrender at Metz, a still greater disaster to France than that of Sedan, was not emulated at Paris, which for four months held out against all the efforts of the Germans. On the investment of the great city, King William removed his headquarters to the historic palace of Versailles, setting up his homely camp-bed in the same apartments from which Louis XIV had once issued his despotic edicts and commands. Here Count Bismarck conducted his diplomatic labours and Moltke issued his directions for the siege, which was protracted from week to week and month to month.

### PARIS IS BESIEGED

In spite of the vigorous efforts made by the Commander-in-Chief Trochu, both by continuous firing from the forts and by repeated sallies, to prevent Paris from being surrounded, and to force a way through the trenches, his enterprises were rendered fruitless by the watchfulness and strength of the Germans. The blockade was completely accomplished; Paris was surrounded and cut off from the outer world; even the underground telegraphs, through which communication was for a time secretly maintained with the provinces, were by degrees discovered and destroyed. But to





THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE

*Photo Alfieri*





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the great astonishment of Europe, which looked on with highly pitched excitement at the mighty struggle, the siege continued for months without any special progress being observable from without or any lessening of resistance from within. On account of the extension of the forts, the Germans were compelled to remain at such a distance that a bombardment of the town at first appeared impossible ; a storming of the outer works would, moreover, be attended with such sacrifices that the king revolted from such a proceeding. The guns of greater force and carrying power which were needed could only be procured from Germany after long delay on account of the broken lines of railway. Determination and courage falsified the calculations at Versailles of a quick cessation of the resistance. The republic offered a far more energetic and determined opposition to the Prussian arms than the empire had done. The government still declaimed with stern reiteration : “ Not a foot’s breadth of our country ; not a stone of our fortresses ! ” and positively rejected all proposals of treaty based on territorial concessions. Faith in the invincibility of the republic was rooted as an indisputable dogma in the hearts of the French people. They were so imbued with the success that had attended the revolutionary period from 1792 that it was decided to adopt the same course which had then saved France from the coalition of the European Powers. It was held that a revolutionary dictatorship such as had once been exercised by the Convention and the members of the Committee of Public Safety, must again be revived, and a youthful and hot-blooded leader was alone needed to stir up popular feeling and set it in motion.

### GAMBETTA IN COMMAND

To fill such a part no one was better adapted than the advocate Gambetta, who emulated the career of the leaders of the Revolution, and whose soul glowed with a passionate

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ardour of patriotism. In order to create for himself a free sphere of action, and to initiate some vigorous measure in place of the well-rounded phrases and eloquent proclamations of his colleagues Trochu and Jules Favre, he quitted the capital in a balloon and entered into communication with the Government delegation at Tours, which through him soon obtained a fresh impetus. His first task was the liberation of the capital from the besieging German army, and the expulsion of the enemy from the 'sacred' soil of France. For this purpose he summoned, with the authority of a minister of war, all persons capable of bearing arms up to forty years of age, and dispatched them into the field; he imposed war-taxes, and terrified the tardy and refractory with threats of punishment. Every force was put in motion; all France was transformed into a great camp.

A popular war was now to take the place of a soldiers' war, and what the soldiers had failed to effect must be accomplished by the people; France must be saved, and the world freed from despotism. To promote this object, the whole of France, with the exception of Paris, was divided into four general governments, the headquarters of the different governors being Lille, Le Mans, Bourges, and Besançon. Two armies, from the Loire and from the Somme, were to march simultaneously toward Paris, and, aided by the sallies of Trochu and his troops, were to drive the enemy from the country. Energetic attacks were now attempted from time to time, in the hope that when the armies of relief arrived from the provinces, it might be possible to effect a coalition; but all these efforts were constantly repulsed after a hot struggle by the besieging German troops. At the same time, during the month of October, the territory between the Oise and the Lower Seine was scoured by reconnoitring troops, under Prince Albrecht, the south-east district was protected by a Würtemberg detachment through the successful battle near Nogent-sur-Seine, while a

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division of the third army advanced toward the south accompanied by two cavalry divisions. Meanwhile the Parisians, whose telegraph lines had been destroyed, as we have seen, by the enemy, were able to maintain a partial though one-sided and imperfect communication with the provinces by means of balloons and carrier-pigeons.

### DEFIANT SPIRIT OF THE FRENCH

The whole of France, and especially the capital, was already in a state of intense excitement when the news of the capitulation of Metz came to add fresh fuel to the flame. Outside the walls Gambetta was using heroic efforts to increase his forces, bringing horsemen from Africa and inducing the stern old revolutionist Garibaldi to come to his aid; and Thiers was opening fresh negotiations for a truce. Inside the walls the Red Republic raised the banners of insurrection and attempted to drive the Government of National Defence from power.

This effort to inaugurate a reign of terror failed, and the provisional government felt so elated with its victory that it determined to continue at the head of affairs and to oppose the calling of a chamber of national representatives. The members proclaimed oblivion for what had passed, broke off the negotiations for a truce begun by Thiers, and demanded a vote of confidence. The indomitable spirit shown by the French people did not, on the other hand, inspire the Germans with a very lenient or conciliatory temper. Bismarck declared in a dispatch the reasons why the negotiations had failed: "The incredible demand that we should surrender the fruits of all our efforts during the last two months, and should go back to the conditions which existed at the beginning of the blockade of Paris, only affords fresh proof that in Paris pretexts are sought for refusing the nation the right of election." Thiers mournfully declared the failure of his undertaking, but in Paris the popular voting resulted



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in a ten-fold majority in favour of the government and the policy of postponement.

After the breaking off of the negotiations, the world anticipated some energetic action toward the besieged city. The efforts of the enemy were, however, principally directed to drawing the iron girdle still tighter, enclosing the giant city more and more closely, and cutting off every means of communication, so that at last a surrender might be brought about by the stern necessity of starvation. That this object would not be accomplished as speedily as at Metz, that the city of pleasure, enjoyment, and luxury would withstand a siege of four months, had never been contemplated for a moment. It is true that, as time went on, all fresh meat disappeared from the market, with the exception of horse-flesh ; that white bread, on which Parisians place such value, was replaced by a baked compound of meal and bran ; that the stores of dried and salted food began to decline, until at last rats, dogs, cats, and even animals from the zoological gardens were prepared for consumption at restaurants.

Yet, to the amazement of the world, all these miseries, hardships, and sufferings were courageously borne ; nocturnal watch was kept, sallies were undertaken, and cold, hunger, and wretchedness of all kinds were endured with an indomitable steadfastness and heroism. The courage of the besieged Parisians was also animated by the hope that the military forces in the provinces would hasten to the aid of the hard-pressed capital, and that therefore an energetic resistance would afford the rest of France sufficient time for rallying all its forces, and at the same time exhibit an elevating example. In the carrying out of this plan, neither Trochu nor Gambetta was wanting in the requisite energy and circumspection. The former organized sallies from time to time, in order to reconnoitre and discover whether the army of relief was on its way from the provinces ; the latter exerted all his powers to bring the Loire army up to the Seine. But both erred in

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undervaluing the German war forces ; they did not believe that the hostile army would be able to keep Paris in a state of blockade, and at the same time engage the armies on the south and north, east and west. They had no conception of the hidden, inexhaustible strength of the Prussian army organization—of a nation in arms which could send forth constant reinforcements of battalions and recruits, and fresh bodies of disciplined troops to fill the gaps left in the ranks by the wounded and fallen. There should have been no doubt as to the termination of this terrible war, or the final victory of German energy and discipline.

### THE STRUGGLE CONTINUED

Throughout the last months of the eventful year 1870, the northern part of France, from the Jura to the Channel, from the Belgian frontier to the Loire, presented the aspect of a wide battle-field. Of the German troops that had been set free by the capitulation of Metz, a part remained behind in garrison, another division marched northward in order to invest the provinces of Picardy and Normandy, to restore communication with the sea, and to bar the road to Paris, whilst a third division joined the second army, whose commander-in-chief, Prince Frederick Charles, set up his headquarters at Troyes. Different detachments were dispatched against the northern fortresses, and by degrees Soissons, Verdun, Thionville, Ham (where Napoleon had once been a prisoner), Pfalzburg, and Montmédy, all fell into the hands of the Prussians, thus opening to them a free road for the supplies of provisions. The garrison troops were all carried off as prisoners to Germany ; the towns—most of them in a miserable condition—fell into the enemy's hands ; many houses were mere heaps of ruins and ashes, and the larger part of the inhabitants were suffering severely from poverty, hunger, and disease. The greatest obstacles were encountered in the northern part of Alsace and the mountainous districts of the Vosges

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and the Jura, where irregular warfare, under Garibaldi and other leaders, developed to a dangerous extent, while the fortress of Langres afforded a safe retreat to the guerilla bands. Lyons and the neighbouring town of St Etienne became hotbeds of excitement, the red flag being raised and a despotism of terror and violence established. Although many divergent elements made up this army of the east, all were united in hatred of the Germans.

Thus, during the cold days of November and December, when General von Tresckow began the siege of the important fortress of Belfort, there burst forth a war around Gray and Dijon marked by the greatest hardships, perils, and privations to the invaders. Here the Germans had to contend with an enemy much superior in number, and to defend themselves against continuous firing from houses, cellars, woods, and thickets, while the impoverished country yielded a miserable subsistence, and the broken railways cut off freedom of communication and of reinforcement.

The whole of the Jura district, intersected by hilly roads as far as the plateau of Langres, where, in the days of Cæsar, the Romans and Gauls were wont to measure their strength with each other, formed during November and December the scene of action of numerous encounters which, in conjunction with sallies from the garrison at Belfort, inflicted severe injury on Werder's troops. Dijon had repeatedly to be evacuated; and the nocturnal attack at Châtillon, 20th November, by Garibaldians, when one hundred and twenty Landwehr men and Hussars perished miserably, and seventy horses were lost, afforded a striking proof of the dangers to which the German army was exposed in this hostile country. The excesses of the turbulent population of the south, however, diverted to a certain extent the attention of the National Guard, who were compelled to turn their weapons against an internal enemy.

By means of the revolutionary dictatorship of Gambetta



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the whole French nation was drawn into the struggle, the annihilation of the enemy being represented as a national duty, and the war steadily assumed a more violent character. The indefatigable patriot continued his exertions to increase the army and unite the whole south and west against the enemy, hoping to bring the army of the Loire to such dimensions that it would be able to expel the invaders from the soil of France. But these raw recruits were poorly fitted to cope with the highly disciplined Germans, and their early successes were soon followed by defeat and discouragement, while the hopes entertained by the Paris garrison of succour from the south evaporated as news of the steady progress of the Germans was received.

### OPERATIONS BEFORE PARIS

During these events the war operations before Paris continued uninterruptedly. Moltke had succeeded, in spite of the difficulties of transport, in procuring an immense quantity of ammunition, and the long-delayed bombardment of Paris was ready to begin. Having stationed with all secrecy twelve batteries with seventy-six guns around Mont Avron, on Christmas Day the firing was directed with such success against the fortified eminences, that even in the second night the French, after great losses, evacuated the important position, the 'key of Paris,' which was immediately taken possession of by the Saxons. Terror and dismay spread throughout the distracted city when the eastern forts, Rosny, Nogent, and Noisy, were stormed after a tremendous artillery fire. Vainly did Trochu endeavour to rouse the failing courage of the National Guard, vainly did he assert that the Government of the National Defence would never consent to the humiliation of a capitulation; his own authority had already waned, the newspapers already accused him of incapacity and treachery, and began to cast every aspersion on the men who had presumptuously seized



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the government, and yet were not in a position to effect the defence of the capital and the country. After the new year the bombardment of the southern forts began, and the terror in the city daily increased, though the vehemence of the radical journals kept in check any hint of surrender or negotiation. Meantime in spite of fog and snow-storms the bombardment was systematically continued, and with every day the destructive effect of the terrible missiles grew more pronounced.

Trochu was blamed for having undertaken only small sallies, which could have no result. The commander-in-chief ventured no opposition to the party of action. With the consent of the mayors of the twenty *arrondissements* of Paris a council of war was held. The threatening famine, the firing of the enemy, and the excitement prevailing among the adherents of the Red Republic rendered a decisive step necessary. Consequently, on the 19th of January, a great sally was decided on, and the entire forces of the capital were summoned to arms. Early in the morning, a body of 100,000 men marched in the direction of Meudon, Sèvres, and St Cloud for the decisive conflict. The left wing was commanded by General Vinoy, the right by Ducrot, while Trochu from the watch-tower directed the entire struggle. With great courage Vinoy dashed forward with his column of attack toward the fifth army corps of General Kirchbach, and succeeded, through the superior number of his troops, in capturing the Montretout entrenchment and in holding it for a time. But when Ducrot, delayed by the barricades in the streets, failed to come to his assistance at the appointed time, the attack was driven back after seven hours' fierce fighting by the besieging troops. Having lost 7000 dead and wounded, the French in the evening beat a retreat, which almost resembled a flight. On the following day Trochu demanded a truce, that the fallen National Guards, whose bodies strewed the battle-field, might

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be interred. The victors, too, had to render the last rites to many a brave soldier. Thirty-nine officers and six hundred and sixteen soldiers were given in the list of the slain.

Entire confidence had been placed by the Parisians in the great sally. When the defeat, therefore, became known in its full significance, when the number of the fallen was found to be far greater even than had been stated in the first accounts, a dull despair took possession of the famished city, which next broke forth into violent abuse against Trochu, 'the traitor.' Capitulation now seemed imminent; but as the commander-in-chief had declared that he would never countenance such a disgrace, he resigned his post to Vinoy. Threatened by bombardment from without, terrified within by the pale spectre of famine, paralysed and distracted by the violent dissensions among the people, and without prospect of effective aid from the provinces, what remained to the proud capital but to desist from a conflict the continuation of which only increased the unspeakable misery, without the smallest hope of deliverance? Gradually, therefore, there grew up a resolution to enter into negotiations with the enemy; and it was the minister Jules Favre, who had been foremost with the cry of "no surrender" four months before, who was now compelled to take the first step to deliver his country from complete ruin. It was probably the bitterest hour in the life of the brave man, who loved France and liberty with such a sincere affection, when he was conducted through the German outposts to his interview with Bismarck at Versailles. He brought the proposal for a convention, on the strength of which the garrison was to be permitted to retire with military honours to a part of France not hitherto invested, on promising to abstain for several months from taking part in the struggle. But such conditions were positively refused at the Prussian headquarters, and a surrender was demanded as at Sedan

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and Metz. Completely defeated, the minister returned to Paris. At a second meeting on the following day, it was agreed that from the 27th, at twelve o'clock at night, the firing on both sides should be discontinued. This was the preliminary to the conclusion of a three weeks' truce, to await the summons of a National Assembly, with which peace might be negotiated.

### FIGHTING IN THE SOUTH

The war was at an end so far as Paris was concerned. But it continued in the south, where frequent defeat failed to depress Gambetta's indomitable energy, and where new troops constantly replaced those put to rout. Garibaldi, at Dijon, succeeded in doing what the French had not done during the war, in capturing a Prussian banner. But the progress of the Germans soon rendered his position untenable, and, finding his exertions unavailing, he resigned his command and retired to his island of Caprera. Two disasters completed the overthrow of France. Bourbaki's army, some 85,000 strong, became shut in, with scanty food and ammunition, among the snow-covered valleys of the Jura, and to save the disgrace of capitulation it took refuge on the neutral soil of Switzerland; and the strong fortress of Belfort, which had been defended with the utmost courage against its besiegers, finally yielded, with the stipulation that the brave garrison should march out with the honours of war. Nothing now stood in the way of an extension of the truce. On the suggestion of Jules Favre, the National Assembly elected a commission of fifteen members, which was to aid Thiers, the chief of the executive, and his ministers, Picard and Favre, in the negotiations for peace. That cessions of territory and indemnity of war expenses would have to be conceded had long been acknowledged in principle; but protracted and excited discussions took place as to the extent of the former and the amount of the latter,



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while the demanded entry of the German troops into Paris met with vehement opposition. But Count Bismarck resolutely insisted on the cession of Alsace and German Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville (Diedenhofen). Only with difficulty were the Germans persuaded to separate Belfort from the rest of Lorraine, and leave it still in the possession of the French. In respect to the expenses of the war, the sum of five milliards of francs (£200,000,000) was agreed upon, of which the first milliard was to be paid in the year 1871, and the rest in a stated period. The stipulated entry into Paris also—so bitter to the French national pride—was only partially carried out; the western side only of the city was to be traversed in the march of the Prussian troops, and evacuated in two days. On the basis of these conditions the preliminaries of the Peace of Frankfort were concluded on the 26th of February between the Imperial Chancellor and Jules Favre. Intense excitement prevailed when the terms of the treaty became known; they were dark days in the annals of French history. But in spite of the opposition of the extreme Republican party, led by Quinet and Victor Hugo, the Assembly recognized by an overpowering majority the necessity for the Peace, and the preliminaries were accepted by 546 to 107 votes. Thus ended the mighty war between France and Germany—a war which, till the present day, had had few equals in the history of the world.

### THE WAR AT AN END

Had King William received no indemnity in cash or territory from France, he must still have felt himself amply repaid for the cost of this sanguinary war, for it brought him a power and prestige with which the astute diplomatist Bismarck had long been seeking to invest his name. Political changes move slowly in times of peace, rapidly in times of war. The whole of Germany, with the exception of Austria, had sent troops to the conquest of France, and every state,



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north and south alike, shared in the pride and glory of the result. South and North Germany had marched side by side to the battle-field, with every difference of race or creed forgotten, and the honour of the German fatherland the sole watchword. The time seemed to have arrived to close the breach between north and south, and obliterate the line of the Main, which had divided the two sections. North Germany was united under the leadership of Prussia, and the honour in which all alike shared now brought South Germany into line for a similar union.

The first appeal in this direction came from Baden. Later in the year plenipotentiaries sought Versailles from the kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg and the grand duchies of Baden and Hesse, their purpose being to arrange for and define the conditions of union between the South and the North German states. For weeks this momentous question filled all Germany with excitement, and public opinion was in a state of high tension. The scheme of union was by no means universally approved, there being a large party in opposition, but the majority in its favour proved sufficient to enable Bismarck to carry out his plan.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### BISMARCK AND THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE BUILDING THE BULWARKS OF THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY NATION

*Bismarck as a Statesman : Uniting the German States : William I crowned at Versailles : A Significant Decade : The Problem of Church Power : Progress of Socialism : William II and the Resignation of Bismarck : Political and Industrial Conditions in Germany*

THROUGHOUT the various events narrated in the two preceding chapters the hand of Bismarck was everywhere visible. He had proved himself a statesman of the highest powers, and these powers were devoted without stint to the aggrandizement of Prussia. As for the surrounding nations and their rights and immunities, these did not count as against his policies. Conscience did not trouble him. The slaughter of thousands of men on the battle-field did not disturb his equanimity. He was unalterably fixed in his aim, unscrupulous in the means employed, shrewd, keen, and far-sighted in his measures, Europe being to him but a great chess-board, on which his hand moved kings, knights, and pawns with mechanical inflexibility. To him the end justified the means, however lacking in justice or mercy the means might prove.

Denmark was despoiled to extend the territory of Prussia to the north. Austria, Bismarck's unwary accomplice, was, as we have seen, robbed of its share of the spoils, and drawn into a war in which it met with disastrous defeat, the prestige of Prussia being vastly increased on the field of Königgrätz. Subsequently came the great struggle with France, fomented by his wiles and ending in triumph for his policies. So far all had gone well for him, the final outcome of his schemes resulting in the unification of the minor German states and Prussia into one powerful empire.

# THE NATIONS AT WAR

## BISMARCK AS A STATESMAN

It was in the formation of the modern German Empire that the far-sighted plans of Bismarck culminated. King William, who at this time was close on seventy-five years of age, was a tool in his hands for this purpose, moving as he suggested and doing as he wished. The states of Germany, with the exception of Austria, having actively participated in the recent war, the steps toward unification which had been taken during the few preceding years had now reached the point in which a complete amalgamation might be effected. The Holy Roman Empire, which had lasted throughout the mediæval period, at times predominant, at times a mere name, had received its death-blow from the hands of Napoleon and had vanished from the historic stage. It was Bismarck's design to restore the German Empire—not the old, moth-eaten fiction of the past, but an entirely new one—and give Prussia the position it had earned, that of the great centre of German racial unity. In this project Austria, long at the head of the old empire, was to have no part, the imperial dignity being conferred upon the venerable King William of Prussia, a monarch whose birth dated back to the eighteenth century, and who had lived throughout the Napoleonic wars.

## UNITING THE GERMAN STATES

Near the close of 1870 Bismarck concluded treaties with the ambassadors of the South German States, in which they agreed to accept the constitution of the North German Union. These treaties were ratified, after some opposition from the 'patriots' of the lower house, by the legislatures of the four states involved. The next step in the proceeding was a suggestion from the King of Bavaria to the other princes that the imperial crown of Germany should be offered to King William of Prussia.

When the North German Diet at Berlin had given its consent to the new constitution, a congratulatory address was

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dispatched to the Prussian monarch at Versailles. It announced to the aged hero-king the nation's wish that he should accept the new dignity. He replied to the deputation in solemn audience that he accepted the imperial dignity which the German nation and its princes had offered him. On the 1st of January, 1871, the new constitution was to come into operation.

### WILLIAM I CROWNED AT VERSAILLES

The solemn assumption of the imperial office did not take place, however, until the 18th of January, the day on which, one hundred and seventy years before, the new emperor's ancestor, Frederick I, had placed the Prussian crown on his head at Königsberg, and thus laid the basis of the growing greatness of his house. It was an ever-memorable coincidence that, in the superb mirrored hall of the Versailles palace, where since the days of Richelieu so many plans had been concocted for the humiliation of Germany, King William should now proclaim himself German Emperor. After the reading of the imperial proclamation to the German people by Count Bismarck, a cheer was raised, and the whole assembly joined in the singing of national hymns. Thus the important event had taken place which again summoned the German Empire to life, and made over the imperial crown with renewed splendour to another royal house. Barbarossa's old prophecy that the dominion of the empire was, after long tribulation, to pass from the Hohenstaufen to the Hohenzollern, was now fulfilled; the goal long aspired after by German youth had become a reality and a living fact.

The tidings of the conclusion of peace with France, whose preliminaries were completed at Frankfort on the 10th of May, 1871, filled all Germany with joy, and peace festivals on the most splendid scale extended from end to end of the new empire, in all parts of which an earnest spirit of



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patriotism was shown, while Germans throughout the whole world sent expressions of warm sympathy with the new national organization of their fatherland.

### A SIGNIFICANT DECADE

The decade just completed had been one of remarkable political changes in Europe, unsurpassed in significance during any other period of equal length. The temporal dominion of the Pope had vanished and all Italy had been united under the rule of a single king. The empire of France had been overthrown and a republic established in its place, while that country had temporarily lost her high position among the European states. Austria had been utterly defeated in war, had lost its last hold on Italy and its position of influence among the German states. And all the remaining German lands had united into a great and powerful empire, promising to gain such extraordinary military strength that the surrounding nations looked on in doubt, full of vague fears of trouble from this new and potent power introduced into their midst.

Bismarck, however, showed an earnest desire to maintain international peace and good relations, seeking to win the confidence of foreign governments, while at the same time he improved and increased that military force which had been proved to be so mighty an engine of war.

In the constitution of the new empire two legislative bodies, already possessed by the Confederation of North German States, were provided for—the *Bundesrath* or Federal Council, whose members are annually appointed by the respective state governments, and the *Reichstag* or representative body, whose members are elected by universal suffrage for a period of five years, an annual session being required. Germany therefore, in its present organization, is practically a federal union of states, each with its own powers of internal government, and with a common legislature roughly approximating



THE KAISER AND THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR

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to our Houses of Lords and Commons. But the power of the Reichstag was never anything like as great as that of the British House of Commons, since it has no power over the executive, and the German Emperor has never been, strictly speaking, a constitutional monarch. Largely owing to the fact that the consent of both assemblies was necessary to change the law, William governed as he pleased and had no other minister than the High Chancellor of the empire responsible solely to the sovereign. After 1870 he was in the empire what he had been previously in Prussia, the essential representative of the country and the supreme head of the military forces.

The remaining incidents of Bismarck's remarkable career may be briefly given. It consisted largely in a struggle with the Catholic Church organization, which had attained to great power in Germany, and was aggressive to an extent that aroused his vigorous opposition, for Bismarck was not the man to acknowledge any power other than that of the emperor.

### THE PROBLEM OF CHURCH POWER

King Frederick William IV, the predecessor of the reigning monarch, had made active efforts to strengthen the Catholic Church in Prussia, its clergy gaining greater privileges in that Protestant state than they possessed in any of the Catholic states. They had established congregations and monasteries everywhere in North Germany, and by their control of public education seemed in a fair way eventually to make Catholicism supreme in the empire.

This state of affairs Bismarck set himself energetically to reform. The Minister of Religious Affairs was forced to resign, and his place was taken by Falk, a sagacious statesman, who introduced new laws, bringing the whole educational system under state control, and carefully regulating the power of the clergy over religious and moral education. This law met with such violent opposition that all the personal



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influence of Bismarck and Falk were needed to carry it, and it gave such deep offence to the Pope that he refused to receive the German ambassador and declared the Falk law invalid. The German bishops then united in a declaration against the Chancellor; Bismarck retorted to this by a law expelling the Jesuits and all similar orders from the empire.

In 1873 the state of affairs became so embittered that the rights and liberties of the citizens seemed to need protection against a priesthood armed with extensive powers of discipline and excommunication. In consequence Bismarck introduced, and by his eloquence and influence carried, what were known as the May Laws. These required the scientific education of the Catholic clergy, the confirmation of clerical appointments by the state, and the formation of a tribunal to consider and revise the conduct of the bishops. These enactments precipitated a bitter contest between Church and State, while the Pope declared the May Laws null and void and threatened with excommunication all priests who should submit to them. The State retorted by withdrawing its financial support from the Catholic Church and abolishing those clauses of the constitution under which the Church claimed independence of the State. Pope Pius IX died in 1878, and on the election of Leo XIII attempts were made to reconcile the existing differences. The reconciliation was a victory for the Church, since the May Laws ceased to be operative, the Church revenues were restored and the control of the clergy over education in considerable measure was regained. New concessions were granted in 1886 and 1887, and Bismarck felt himself beaten in his long conflict with his clerical opponents, who had proved too strong and deeply entrenched for him.

### PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

Economic questions became also prominent, the revenues of the empire requiring some change in the system of free trade

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and the adoption of protective duties, while the railways were acquired as public property by the various states of the empire. Meanwhile the rapid growth of socialism excited apprehension, which was added to when two attempts were made on the life of the emperor. These were attributed to the social-democrats, and severe laws for the suppression of socialism were enacted. Bismarck also sought to cut the ground from under the feet of the socialists by an endeavour to improve the condition of the working classes. In 1883 and 1884 laws were passed compelling employers to insure their workmen in case of sickness or accident, and in 1888 a system of compulsory insurance against death and old age was introduced, and came into force on January 1st, 1891. None of these measures, however, checked the growth of socialism, which very actively continued.

In 1872 a meeting was arranged by the Chancellor between the Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria, which was looked upon in Europe as a political alliance. In 1873 Russia drifted somewhat apart from Germany, but in the following year an alliance was concluded between Germany and Austria, the former of whom at a later date concluded a similar alliance with Italy. This, which at the outbreak of the Great War was still in force, is known as the Triple Alliance.

In 1877 Bismarck announced his intention to retire, being worn out with the great labours of his position. To this the emperor, who felt that his state rested on the shoulders of the Iron Chancellor, would not listen, though he gave him indefinite leave of absence.

On March 9th, 1888, the Emperor William died. He had nearly completed his ninety-first year, having been born on March 22nd, 1797. He was succeeded by his son Frederick, then incurably ill from a cancerous affection of the throat, which carried him to the grave after a reign of ninety-nine days. His eldest son, William, succeeded as William II on June 15th, 1888, at the age of twenty-nine.

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### WILLIAM II AND THE RESIGNATION OF BISMARCK

The liberal era which was looked for under Frederick was checked by his untimely death, his son at once returning to the policy of William I and Bismarck. He proved to be far more positive and dictatorial in disposition than his grandfather, with decided and vigorous views of his own which soon brought him into conflict with the equally positive Chancellor. The result was a rupture with Bismarck, and his resignation (a virtual dismissal) in 1890. The young emperor proposed to be his own minister and subsequently devoted himself in a large measure to the increase of the army and navy, a policy which brought him into frequent conflicts with the Reichstag, whose rapidly growing socialistic membership was in strong opposition to this development of militarism.

The old statesman, to whom Germany owed so much, was deeply aggrieved, in view of his great services to the state, by this lack of gratitude on the part of the self-opinionated young emperor. The wound rankled deeply, though a seeming reconciliation took place. But the political career of the great Bismarck was at an end, and he died on July 30th, 1898. It is an interesting coincidence that almost at the same time died the equally great, but markedly different, statesman of England, William Ewart Gladstone.

The career of William II soon became one of much interest and some alarm to the other nations of Europe. His eagerness for the development of the army and navy, and the energy with which he pushed forward its organization and sought to add to its strength, seemed significant of warlike intentions, and there was dread that this energetic young monarch might break the peace of Europe if only to prove the irresistible strength of the military machine he had formed. But as years went on the apprehensions to which his early career and expressions gave rise were quieted, and the fear that he would plunge Europe into war was greatly diminished.



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The speeches with which the emperor began his reign showed an exaggerated sense of the imperial dignity, but his later career indicated more judgment and good sense than the early display of overweening self-importance promised, and the views of William II eventually came to command respect. He showed himself a man of exuberant energy. Despite a permanent weakness of his left arm and a serious affection of the ear, he early became a skilful horseman and an untiring hunter, as well as an enthusiastic yachtsman, and there were few men in the empire more active and enterprising than the Kaiser.

### POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

It may be of interest here to say something concerning the organization of the German empire. The constitution of this empire, as adopted on April 16th, 1871, proposes to "form an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people," and places the supreme direction of military and political affairs in the King of Prussia, under the title of deutscher Kaiser (German Emperor). The war-making powers of the emperor, however, are restricted, since he is required to obtain the consent of the Bundesrath (the Federal Council) before he can declare war otherwise than for the defence of the realm. His authority as emperor, in fact, is much less than that which he exercises as King of Prussia, since the imperial legislature is independent of him, he having no power of veto over the laws passed by it. His actual military power, however, is practically supreme, as demonstrated in the opening events of the war of 1914.

The legislature, as stated, consists of two bodies, the Bundesrath, representing the states of the union, whose members, 58 in number, are chosen for each session by the several state governments; and the Reichstag, representing the people, whose members, 397 in number, are elected by



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universal suffrage for periods of five years. The executive, however, is entirely in the hands of the emperor ; and the appointment of ministers, ambassadors, consuls, and officials generally is—in theory, at least—made solely by him, and the officials appointed are responsible solely to him. In this direction the government of Germany exhibits a marked and fundamental difference from that of Great Britain, and this is well brought out by a remark once made by a journalist to Prince von Bülow, a former German Imperial Chancellor. “Here,” said he, “our parties do not feel as if they were the actors who perform in the play, but as if they were the critics who look on. They award praise and blame but they do not feel as if they themselves participated in what goes on.”

The German union, as constituted in 1914, comprised four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three sovereign cities, and the Reichsland, or Imperial territory, of Alsace-Lorraine ; twenty-six separate states in all. It included all the German peoples of Europe with the exception of those of Austria.

The progress of Germany within the modern period has been very great. The population of the states of the empire, 24,831,000 at the end of the Napoleonic wars, had become by 1871 41,058,800 ; in 1900 the number of inhabitants had reached 56,637,200 ; and to-day it has risen to more than 65,000,000. The country, once divided into an unwieldy multitude of states, often of minute proportions, has become consolidated into the number above named, each of these possessing some degree of importance. These, as combined into a federal union, or empire, have an area of 208,810 square miles, of which Prussia holds the lion's share, its area being 134,636 square miles.

The presidency of the empire belongs to the King of Prussia and is hereditary in his family. Besides the Imperial Parliament, each state has its own special legislature and

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laws, but railways regarded as necessary for defence or the facilitating of general communications may come under a law of the empire, even against the opposition of the members of the confederation whose territory is traversed. The states have their respective armies, but it is the emperor who disposes of them; he appoints the heads of the contingents, approves the generals, and has the right to establish fortresses over the whole territory of the empire.

The increase in wealth of the German empire has surpassed the increase in population, Germany having developed into the most active manufacturing country in Europe. Agriculture has similarly advanced, and one of its chief products, that of the sugar-beet, has enormously increased, beetroot sugar being among its chief industrial yields. In addition, Germany has grown to be one of the most active commercial nations of the earth, and its wealth and importance have been correspondingly augmented. From 1871 to 1914 the volume of German foreign trade rose from six thousand million to over nineteen thousand one hundred and fifty million marks. These particulars are of interest, not only as showing the standing of Germany at the outbreak of the war of 1914 and thereby indicating its degree of ability to bear its terrible strain, but also as affording a clue to the reason of Germany's overweening desire for territorial aggrandizement, and perhaps suggesting that it was largely with the idea of protecting her increasing overseas trade and her world-wide interests that her Kaiser announced that her future 'must be on the water.'

## CHAPTER XIX

### GLADSTONE AS AN APOSTLE OF REFORM

#### GREAT BRITAIN A WORLD-POWER

*Gladstone and Disraeli : Gladstone's Famous Budget :  
A New Reform Bill : Disraeli's Reform Measure :  
Irish Church Disestablishment : An Irish Land  
Bill : Desperate State of Ireland : The Coercion  
Bill : Wars in Africa : Home Rule for Ireland*

IT is a fact of much interest, as showing the growth of the human mind, that William Ewart Gladstone, the great advocate of English Liberalism, made his first political speech in vigorous opposition to the Reform Bill of 1831. He was then a student at Oxford University, but this boyish address had such an effect upon his hearers that Bishop Wordsworth felt sure the speaker would "one day rise to be Prime Minister of England." This prophetic utterance may be mated with another one, by Archdeacon Denison, who said: "I have just heard the best speech I ever heard in my life, by Gladstone, against the Reform Bill. But, mark my words, that man will one day be a Liberal, for he argued against the Bill on liberal grounds."

Both these far-seeing men hit the mark. Gladstone became Prime Minister and the leader of the Liberal party in England. Yet he had been reared as a Conservative, and for many years he marched under the banner of Conservatism. His political career began in the first Reform Parliament, in January, 1833. Two years afterward he was made an under-secretary in Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet. It was under the same Premier that he first became a full member of the Cabinet, in 1845, as Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was still nominally a Tory, but had become a Liberal in his commercial ideas, and was Peel's right-hand man in carrying out his free-trade policy.

The repeal of the Corn Laws was the work for which his Cabinet had been formed, and Gladstone, as the leading free-

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trader in the Tory ranks, was called to it. As for Cobden, the apostle of free trade, Gladstone admired him immensely. "I do not know," he said in later years, "that there is in any period a man whose public career and life were nobler or more admirable. Of course I except Washington. Washington, to my mind, is the purest figure in history." As an advocate of free trade Gladstone first came into connection with another noble figure, that of John Bright, who was to remain associated with him during most of his career. In 1850 he first took rank as one of the great moral forces of modern times. In that year he visited Naples, where he saw the barbarous treatment of political prisoners, under the government of the infamous Ferdinand II, 'King Bomba,' and described them in letters in which indignation was expressed in such vigorous tones that England was stirred to its depths and all Europe awakened, and the cause of Italian freedom given an impetus that had much to do with its subsequent success.

### GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI

In 1852 Gladstone first came into opposition to Disraeli, against whom he was to be pitted during the remainder of the career of the latter. Benjamin Disraeli, who had made himself a power in Parliament, in that year became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Derby's Cabinet and leader of the House of Commons. The revenue budget introduced by him showed a sad lack of financial ability, and called forth sharp criticisms, to which he replied in a speech made up of scoffs, gibes, and biting sarcasms, so daring and audacious in character as almost to intimidate the House. As he sat down Gladstone rose and launched forth into an oration which became historic. He gave voice to that indignation which lay suppressed beneath the cowed feeling which for the moment the Chancellor of the Exchequer's performance had left among his hearers. In a few minutes the House



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was wildly cheering the intrepid champion who had rushed into the breach, and when Gladstone concluded, having torn to shreds the proposals of the budget, a majority followed him into the division lobby, and Disraeli found his government beaten by nineteen votes. Such was the first great encounter between the two rivals.

### GLADSTONE'S FAMOUS BUDGET

In the Cabinet that followed, headed by Lord Aberdeen, Gladstone succeeded Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer, a position in which he was to make a great mark. In April, 1853, he introduced his first budget, a marvel of ingenious statesmanship, in its highly successful effort to equalize taxation. It remitted various taxes which had pressed hard upon the poor and restricted business, and replaced them by applying the succession duty to real estate, increasing the duty on spirits, and extending the incidence of the income tax, which at the same time he reduced from 7d. to 6d.

Taken altogether, and especially in its expedients to equalize taxation, this first budget of Gladstone may be justly called the greatest of the century. The speech in which it was introduced and expounded created an extraordinary impression on the House and the country. For the first time in Parliament figures were made as interesting as a fairy tale; the dry bones of statistics were invested with a new and potent life, and it was shown how the yearly balancing of the national accounts might be directed by and made to promote the profoundest and most fruitful principles of statesmanship. With such lucidity and picturesqueness was this financial oratory rolled forth that the dullest intellect could follow with pleasure the complicated scheme; and for five hours the House of Commons sat as though under the sway of a magician's wand. When Gladstone resumed his seat, it was felt that the career of

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the coalition ministry was assured by the genius that was discovered in its Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It was, indeed, to Gladstone's remarkable oratorical powers that much of his success as a statesman was due. No man of his period was his equal in swaying and convincing his hearers. His rich and musical voice, his varied and animated gestures, his impressive and vigorous delivery, his wonderful precision and fluency, gave him a power over an audience which few men of the century enjoyed. His sentences, indeed, were long and involved, growing more so as his years advanced, but they carried away all that heard him with their deep earnestness and intense conviction.

Meanwhile his Liberalism had been steadily growing, till in 1865 the Tory University of Oxford, which he had long represented, rejected him. The rejection was greeted by Gladstone as a compliment. He at once offered himself as a candidate for South Lancashire, and in the opening of his speech at Manchester said: "At last, my friends, I am come among you; to use an expression which has become very famous and is not likely to be forgotten, 'I am come among you unmuzzled.'"

Unmuzzled he indeed was, free at last to give the fullest expression to his Liberal faith. In 1865 Palmerston died. Lord John Russell succeeded him in the premiership and went to the Lords as Earl Russell, and Gladstone became, for the first time, leader of the House of Commons. Many of his friends feared for him in this difficult position; but the event proved that they had no occasion for alarm, he showing himself one of the most successful leaders the House had ever had.

### A NEW REFORM BILL

His first important duty in this position was to introduce the new Reform Bill, a measure to extend the franchise in counties and boroughs that would have added about 145,000

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voters to the electorate. In the debate that followed Gladstone and Disraeli were again pitted against each other in a grand oratorical contest. Disraeli taunted him with his youthful speech at Oxford against the Reform Bill of 1831. Gladstone retorted by charging his opponent with clinging to a conservatism which he himself gloried in having been strong enough to reject. He ended with this stirring prediction :

“ You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb, those great social forces are against you : they are marshalled on our side ; and the banner which we now carry into this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of Heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain, and to a not far distant, victory.”

He was right in saying that it would not be a distant victory. Disraeli and his party defeated the Bill, but the people rose in a vigorous demand for it, and John Bright, an eloquent orator and strenuous advocate of moral reform and political progress, joined Gladstone in his campaign. Through the force of their eloquence the tide of public opinion rose to such a height that the new Derby-Disraeli ministry was obliged to bring in a Bill similar in purpose to that which it had overthrown.

### DISRAELI'S REFORM MEASURE

This Tory Bill proved satisfactory to Gladstone in its general features. He had won a great victory in forcing its introduction. But he proposed so many changes in its details—all of them yielded in committee—that a satirical lord remarked that nothing of the original Bill remained but its

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opening word 'Whereas.' As thus modified, it was more liberal than the measure that had been defeated, and the people gave Gladstone full credit for it, and for their right to vote.

The two political champions, Gladstone and Disraeli, soon after attained the summit of political ambition. In February, 1868, the failing health of Lord Derby forced him to resign and Disraeli, the 'Asian Mystery' as he had been called, succeeded him as Prime Minister. But he did not hold this office long; his party was defeated on the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and on December 4th of the same year Gladstone took his place. Thus, after thirty-five years of public life, Gladstone had attained the post in which he was to spend most of his later years. The period which followed the election of 1868—the period of the Gladstone Administration of 1868–74—has been called 'the golden age of Liberalism.' It was certainly a period of great reforms. The first, the most heroic, and probably—taking all the results into account—the most completely successful of these, was the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

### IRISH CHURCH DISESTABLISHMENT

Any interference with the prerogatives or absoluteness of an established church institution is sure to arouse vigorous opposition. The Disestablishment Bill, introduced on the 1st of March, 1869, was greeted in Ireland with the wildest protests from those interested in the Establishment. One martial clergyman offered to "kick the Queen's crown into the Boyne," if she assented to any such measure, while another proposed to fight with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other.

Such outbreaks had no effect on Gladstone, whose speech was one of his greatest oratorical achievements. His chief opponent declared that, though it lasted three hours, it did



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not contain a redundant word, or unnecessary phrase. The scheme which it unfolded withdrew the temporal establishment of a Church in such a manner that the Church was benefited, not injured ; it extricated the Church of England from an awkward and anomalous position, and it lifted from the backs of an oppressed people an intolerable burden. Disraeli's speech in opposition to this measure was referred to by the *Times* as "flimsiness relieved by spangles." After a debate in which Mr. Bright made one of his most famous speeches, the Bill was carried by a majority of 118. Before this strong manifestation of the popular will the House of Lords, which deeply disliked the Bill, felt obliged to give way, and eventually passed it in a slightly modified form by a majority of seven.

### AN IRISH LAND BILL

In 1870 Gladstone introduced his Irish Land Bill, a measure of reform which Parliament had for years refused to grant. By it the tenant was given the right to hold his farm as long as he paid his rent, and received a claim upon the improvement made by himself and his predecessors—a tenant-right which he could sell. This Bill was triumphantly carried ; and another important Liberal measure, Mr. Forster's Education Bill, became law.

Other Liberal measures were passed, but the tide which had set so long in this direction turned at last, the government was defeated in 1873 on an Irish University Education Bill, and in a subsequent election the Liberal party met with defeat. Gladstone at once resigned and was succeeded by Disraeli, who in 1876 was raised to the peerage under the title of the Earl of Beaconsfield. Gladstone had no ambition for honours of this type ; he much preferred to be considered as 'one of the people.' During his holiday from office he occupied himself in literary labours and in criticisms upon the foreign policy of Disraeli, which plunged the

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country into a Zulu war, denounced by Gladstone as "one of the most monstrous and indefensible in our history," and an Afghan war which he described as a national crime.

These and other acts of Tory policy in time brought Liberalism again to the front. An election held in 1880 resulted in a great Liberal victory, Beaconsfield resigned, and Gladstone was once again called to the head of the ministry. In the new administration affairs in the East, which had held precedence over domestic matters under the preceding administration, vanished from sight, and the Irish question again became prominent. Ireland had now gained an able leader in Charles Stewart Parnell, founder of the union of Irish farmers known as the Land League, and its concerns could no longer be consigned to the background.

Gladstone, in assuming control of the new government, was quite unaware of the task before him. When he had completed his work with the Church and the Land Bills ten years before, he fondly fancied that the Irish question was definitely settled. The Home Rule movement, which was started in 1870, seemed to him a wild delusion which would die away of itself. In 1884 he said: "I frankly admit that I had had much upon my hands connected with the doings of the Beaconsfield Government in every quarter of the world, and I did not know—no one knew—the severity of the crisis that was already swelling upon the horizon, and that shortly after rushed upon us like a flood."

### DESPERATE STATE OF IRELAND

He was not long in discovering the gravity of the situation, of which the House had been warned by Parnell. The famine had brought its crop of misery, and, while the charitable were seeking to relieve the distress, many of the landlords were turning their tenants adrift for non-payment of rent. The Irish party brought in a Bill for the Suspension of Evictions, which the government replaced by a similar one

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for Compensation for Disturbance. This was passed with a large majority by the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, and Ireland was left to face its misery.

Her state at that moment was too critical to be dealt with in this manner. The rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill was, to the peasantry whom it had been intended to protect, a message of despair, and it was followed by the usual symptom of despair in Ireland, an outbreak of agrarian crime. On the one hand over 15,000 persons were threatened with eviction; on the other there was a dreadful crop of murders and outrages. The Land League sought to do what Parliament did not; but in doing so it came in contact with the law. Moreover, the revolution—for revolution it seemed to be—grew too formidable for its control; the utmost it succeeded in doing was in some sense to ride without directing the storm. The first decisive step of Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was to strike a blow at the Land League. In November, 1880, he ordered the prosecution of Parnell, Biggar, and several of the officials of the organization, and before the year was out he announced his intention of introducing a Coercion Bill. This step threw the Parnellites into relations of definite antagonism with the Liberal Government.

### THE COERCION BILL

Parnell was acquitted, and Mr. Forster introduced his Coercion Bill on January 24, 1881. It was a formidable measure, which enabled the Chief Secretary, by signing a warrant, to arrest any man on suspicion of having committed a given offence, and to imprison him without trial at the pleasure of the government. It practically suspended the liberties of Ireland. The Irish members exhausted every resource of parliamentary action in resisting it, and their tactics resulted in several scenes unprecedented in parliamentary history, and on one occasion, much to Gladstone's





THE KING OF BAVARIA (ON THE LEFT) CONVERSING WITH ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ  
*Photo Record Press*





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sorrow, it was necessary to suspend the entire Parnellite party.

The Coercion Bill passed, Gladstone introduced his Land Bill of 1881, which was the measure of conciliation intended to balance the measure of repression. This was really a great and sweeping reform, whose dominant feature was the introduction of the novel and far-reaching principle of the state stepping in between landlord and tenant and fixing the rents. The Bill had some defects, as a series of amending Acts, which were subsequently passed by both Liberal and Tory governments, proved; but, apart from these, it was, short of Home Rule itself, the greatest measure of reform ever passed for Ireland by the Imperial Parliament. But Ireland was not yet satisfied. Parnell had no confidence in the good intentions of the government, and took steps to test its honesty, which so angered Mr. Forster that he arrested Parnell and several other leaders and pronounced the Land League an illegal body. Forster was well-meaning but mistaken. He fancied that by locking up the ring-leaders he could bring quiet to the country, but, on the contrary, affairs were soon far worse than ever, crime and outrage spreading widely.

At this point the Cabinet in despair ordered the release of Parnell, and Mr. Forster resigned. All now seemed hopeful; coercion had proved a failure; peace and quiet were looked for; when, four days later (May 6th), the whole country was horrified by a terrible crime. The new Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, were attacked and stabbed to death in Phoenix Park. Everywhere panic and indignation arose. A new coercion Act, the Crimes Act, was passed without delay. It was vigorously put into effect, and a state almost bordering on war between England and Ireland again came into existence.

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### WARS IN AFRICA

Meanwhile events were taking place abroad which must here be dealt with briefly. In 1875 Great Britain had acquired the control of the Suez Canal, an acquisition that carried with it the necessity of taking a prominent part in the affairs of Egypt, which, through the extravagance and misrule of the Khedive, Ismail Pasha, were in a very serious state. The Khedive was deposed by the Porte in 1879 and was succeeded by his son, Tewfik Pasha, who was assisted by an Anglo-French dual control. A military insurrection, however, broke out in 1882 under the direction of Arabi Pasha, and the Powers were obliged to intervene.

Gladstone, who deprecated war, now found himself with a conflict on his hands. In July the British fleet bombarded Alexandria, and the town was occupied after it had been half reduced to ashes. Soon after (September 13th) General Wolseley defeated Arabi and his army at Tel-el-Kebir, and the insurrection ended, but in 1884 it had its sequel in a formidable outbreak in the Sudan, the story of which is told in a later chapter. Years passed before Upper Egypt was reconquered, it being recovered only at the close of the century, when it returned to British control under the nominal suzerainty of the Porte. At the end of 1914, however, this state of affairs came to an end, as will be seen, and the shadow of Turkish rule was finally done away with.

There were serious troubles also in South Africa. In 1877 the British Government, in consequence of native troubles and financial difficulties, but in opposition to the wishes of the Boers themselves, had annexed the Boer settlement of the Transvaal. The valiant Dutch settlers broke into war, and dealt the invaders a signal defeat at Majuba Hill in 1881. The Transvaal was restored to the Boers, but this was the opening step in a series of occurrences which led to the later Boer War of 1899-1902, in which the British, with great

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difficulty, conquered the Boers. For a time the Transvaal was held as a Crown Colony, but in 1905 it was granted self-government, with the result that to-day its Boer inhabitants are among the most loyal lieges of the British Crown.

At home the Irish question continued in the forefront. The African wars having weakened the administration, a vigorous assault was made on it by the Irish party in 1885, and it fell. But its disappearance was very brief. After a short experience of a Tory ministry under Lord Salisbury, Parnell's party rallied to Gladstone's side, the new government was defeated, and on February 1, 1886, Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time.

### HOME RULE FOR IRELAND

During the interval Gladstone's opinions had suffered a great revolution. He no longer thought that Ireland had all it could justly demand. He returned to power as an advocate of a most radical measure, that of Home Rule for Ireland, a restoration of that separate Parliament which it had lost in 1800. He also had a scheme to buy out the Irish landlords and establish a peasant proprietary by state aid. His new views were revolutionary in character, but he did not hesitate—he never hesitated to do what his conscience told him was right. On April 8, 1886, he introduced to Parliament his Home Rule Bill.

The scene that afternoon was one of the most remarkable in Parliamentary history. Never before was such interest manifested in a debate by either the public or the members of the House. Members arrived at St Stephen's at six o'clock in the morning, and those who could not find places on the benches filled up the floor of the House with rows of chairs. The galleries were filled to overflowing with diplomats, peers, and ladies who had come to be witnesses of the greatest feat in the lifetime of an illustrious old man of nearly eighty. Around Palace Yard an enormous crowd surged,



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and Gladstone arrived in the House, pale and still panting from the excitement of his reception in the streets.

At his entrance the Nationalist members and the entire Liberal party—with the exception of Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir George Trevelyan—by a spontaneous impulse, sprang to their feet and cheered him again and again. The speech which he delivered was in every way worthy of the occasion. It expounded, with marvellous lucidity and a noble eloquence, a tremendous scheme of constructive legislation—the re-establishment of a legislature in Ireland, but one subordinate to the Imperial Parliament, and hedged around with every safeguard which could protect the unity of the empire. It took three hours in delivery, and was listened to throughout with the utmost attention on every side of the House. At its close all parties united in a tribute of admiration for the genius which had astonished them with such an exhibition of its powers.

Yet it is one thing to cheer an orator, another thing to vote for a revolution. The Bill was rejected—as it was almost sure to be. Gladstone at once dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country, with the result that he was decisively defeated. His bold declaration that the contest was one between the classes and the masses turned the aristocracy against him, while he had again roused the bitter hatred of his opponents.

Gladstone, the 'Grand Old Man,' a title which he had nobly won, returned to power in 1892, after a period of wholesale coercion in Ireland. He was not to remain there long. He brought in a new Home Rule Bill, supported it with much of his old vigour, and had the intense satisfaction of having it passed, with a majority of forty-three. It was defeated in the House of Lords, and the public career of the Grand Old Man came to an end. The burden had grown too heavy for his reduced strength. In March, 1894, to the consternation of his party, he announced his intention of

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retiring from public life. The Queen offered, as she had done once before, to raise him to the peerage as an earl, but he declined, for his own plain name was a title higher than that of any earldom in the kingdom.

On May 19, 1898, William Ewart Gladstone laid down the burden of his life as he had already done that of labour, and Ireland had to wait sixteen years before that labour bore its harvest. For the Home Rule Bill became the Home Rule Act in 1914, just after the outbreak of the Great War. Special legislation in the shape of the Parliament Act had to be carried before it was enabled to pass the House of Lords, but a very large majority in the House of Commons was in its favour.

## CHAPTER XX THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

### STRUGGLES OF A NEW NATION

*The Republic organized : The Commune of Paris : Instability of the Government : Thiers proclaimed President : Punishment of the Unsuccessful Generals : MacMahon a Royalist President : Grévy, Gambetta, and Boulanger : The Panama Canal Scandal : Despotism of the Army Leaders : The Dreyfus Case : Church and State : The Moroccan Controversy*

IT has been already told how the capitulation of the French army at Sedan and the captivity of Louis Napoleon were followed in Paris by the overthrow of the empire and the formation of a republic, the third in the history of French political changes. A provisional government was formed, the legislative assembly was dissolved, and all the court paraphernalia of the imperial establishment disappeared. The new government was called in Paris the 'Government of Lawyers,' most of its members and officials belonging to that profession. At its head was General Trochu, in command of the army in Paris; among its chief members were Jules Favre and Gambetta. While upright in its membership and honourable in its purposes, it was an arbitrary body, formed by a *coup d'état* like that by which Napoleon had seized the reins of power, and not destined for a long existence.

### THE REPUBLIC ORGANIZED

The news of the fall of Metz and the surrender of Bazaine and his army had served as a fresh spark to the inflammable public feeling of France. In Paris the Red Republic raised the banner of insurrection against the Government of the National Defence and endeavoured to revive the spirit of 1793. The insurgents marched to the Senate House, demanded the election of a municipal council which should

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share power with the government, and imprisoned Trochu, Jules Favre, and their associates. This, however, was but a momentary success of the Commune, and the provisional government continued in existence until the end of the war, when a National Assembly was elected by the people and the temporary government was set aside. Gambetta, the dictator, 'the organizer of defeats,' as he was sarcastically entitled, lost his power, and the aged statesman and historian, Louis Thiers, was chosen as chief of the executive department of the new government.

The treaty of peace with Germany, including, as it did, the loss of Alsace and Lorraine and the payment of an indemnity of £200,000,000, roused once more the fierce passions of the Radicals and the masses of the great cities, who passionately denounced the treaty as due to cowardice and treason. The dethroned emperor added to the excitement by a manifesto, in which he protested against his deposition by the Assembly and called for a fresh election. The final incitement to insurrection came when the Assembly decided to hold its sessions at Versailles instead of in Paris, whose unruly populace it feared.

### THE COMMUNE OF PARIS

In a moment all the revolutionary elements of the great city were in a blaze. The social democratic 'Commune,' elected from the central committee of the National Guard, renounced obedience to the government and the National Assembly, and broke into open revolt. An attempt to repress the movement merely added to its violence, and all the riotous populace of Paris sprang to arms. A new war was about to be inaugurated in that city which had just suffered so severely from the guns of the Germans, and around which German troops were still encamped.

The government had neglected to take possession of the cannon on Montmartre; and now, when the troops of the



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line, instead of firing on the insurrectionists, went over in crowds to their side, the supremacy over Paris fell into the hands of the wildest demagogues. A fearful civil war commenced, and in the same forts which the Germans had shortly before evacuated firing once more resounded; the houses, gardens, and villages around Paris were again surrendered to destruction; the creations of art, industry, and civilization were endangered, and the abodes of wealth and pleasure were transformed into dreary wildernesses.

The wild outbreaks of fanaticism on the part of the Commune recalled the scenes of the Revolution of 1789. The insurgents, roused to fury by the efforts of the government to suppress them, murdered two generals, Lecomte and Thomas, and fired on the unarmed citizens who, as the 'friends of order,' desired a reconciliation with the authorities at Versailles. They formed a government of their own, extorted loans from wealthy citizens, confiscated the property of religious societies, and seized and held as hostages Archbishop Darboy and many other distinguished ecclesiastics and citizens.

Meanwhile the investing French troops, led by Marshal MacMahon, gradually fought their way into the suburbs, and the speedy surrender of the anarchists in the capital became inevitable. This necessity excited their passions to the most violent extent, and, with the wild fury of savages, they set themselves to do all the damage they could to the historical monuments of Paris. The most historic buildings, including the Tuileries, a portion of the Louvre, the Luxemburg, the Palais Royal, and the Elysée, were set on fire, and either partially or entirely destroyed; while several of the imprisoned hostages, foremost among them Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and the universally respected president, Bonjean, were shot by the infuriated mob. Such crimes excited the Versailles troops to terrible vengeance, when they at last succeeded in repressing the rebellion; human life

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was counted as nothing, the streets were stained with blood and strewn with corpses, and the Seine once more ran red between its banks. When at last the Commune surrendered, the judicial courts at Versailles began their work of retribution. The leaders and participators in the rebellion who could not save themselves by flight were shot by hundreds, confined in fortresses, or transported to the colonies. For more than a year the imprisonments, trials, and executions continued, military courts being established which excited the world for months by their wholesale condemnations to exile and to death. The carnival of anarchy was followed by one of pitiless suppression.

### INSTABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Republican government of France, which had been accepted in an emergency, was far from carrying with it the support of the whole of the Assembly or of the people, and the aged but active and keen-witted Thiers had to steer through a medley of opposing interests and sentiments. His government was considered, alike by the Monarchists and the Jacobins, as only provisional, and the Bourbons and Bonapartists on the one hand, and the advocates of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' on the other, intrigued for its overthrow. But the German armies still remained on French soil, pending the payment of the costs of the war; and the astute chief of the executive power possessed moderation enough to pacify the passions of the people, to restrain their hatred of the Germans, which was so boldly exhibited in the streets and in the courts of justice, and to quiet the clamour for a war of revenge.

The position of parties at home was confused and distracted, and a disturbance of the existing order could only lead to anarchy and civil war. Thiers was thus the indispensable man of the moment, and so much was he himself impressed by the consciousness of this fact, that many times, by the

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threat of resignation, he brought the opposing elements in the Assembly to harmony and compliance.

This occurred even during the siege of Paris, when the forces of the government were in conflict with the Commune. In the Assembly there was shown an inclination to moderate or break through the sharp centralization of the government, and to procure some autonomy for the provinces and towns. When, therefore, a new scheme was discussed, a large part of the Assembly demanded that the mayors should not, as formerly, be appointed by the government, but be elected by the town councils. Only with difficulty was Thiers able to effect a compromise, on the strength of which the government was permitted the right of appointment for all towns numbering over twenty thousand.

In the elections for the councils the Moderate Republicans proved triumphant. With a supple dexterity, Thiers knew how to steer between the Democratic-Republican party and the Monarchists. When Gambetta endeavoured to establish a 'league of Republican towns,' the attempt was forbidden as illegal; and when the decree of banishment against the Bourbon and Orleans princes was set aside, and the latter returned to France, Thiers knew how to postpone the entrance into the Assembly of the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, who had been elected deputies, at least until the end of the year.

### THIERS PROCLAIMED PRESIDENT

The brilliant success of the national loan went far to strengthen the position of Thiers. The high offers for a share in this loan, which indicated the wealth of the nation and the solid credit of France abroad, promised a rapid payment of the war indemnity, the consequent evacuation of the country by the German army of occupation, and a restoration of the disturbed finances of the state. The foolish manifesto of the Count de Chambord, who declared that he had only to return



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with the white banner to be made sovereign of France, brought all practical men to the side of Thiers, and he had, during the last days of August, 1871, the triumph of being proclaimed 'President of the French Republic.'

The new president aimed, next to the liberation of the garrisoned provinces from the German troops of occupation, at the reorganization of the French army. Yet he could not bring himself to the decision of enforcing in its entirety the principle of general armed service, such as had raised Prussia from a state of depression to one of military regeneration. Universal military service in France was, it is true, adopted in name, and the army was increased to an immense extent, but under such conditions and limitations that the richer and more educated classes could exempt themselves from service in the army; and thus the active forces, as before, consisted of professional soldiers. And when the Minister for Education, Jules Simon, introduced an educational law based on liberal principles, he experienced on the part of the clergy such violent opposition that the government dropped the measure. In order to place the army in the condition which Thiers desired, an increase in the military budget was necessary, and consequently an enhancement of the general revenues of the state. For this purpose a return to the tariff system, which had been abolished under the empire, was proposed, but excited so great an opposition in the Assembly that six months passed before it could be carried. The new organization of the army, undertaken with a view of placing France on a level in military strength with her late conqueror, was now eagerly undertaken by the president. An active army, with five years' service, was to be added to a 'territorial army,' a kind of militia. And so great was the demand on the portion of the nation capable of bearing arms that the new French army exceeded in numbers that of any other nation. But all the statesmanship of Thiers could not overcome the anarchy in the Assembly, where the forces for monarchy



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and republicanism were bitterly opposed to each other. Gambetta, in order to rouse public opinion in favour of democracy, made several tours through the country, his extravagance of language giving deep offence to the Monarchists, while the opposed sections of the Assembly grew wider and more violent in their breach.

### PUNISHMENT OF THE UNSUCCESSFUL GENERALS

Indisputable as were the valuable services which Thiers had rendered to France, by the foundation of public order and authority, the creation of a regular army, and the restoration of a solid financial system, yet all these services met with no recognition in the face of the party jealousy and political passions prevailing among the people's representatives at Versailles. More and more did the Royalist reaction gain ground, and, aided by the priests and by national hatred and prejudice, endeavour to bring about the destruction of its opponents. Superstition and fanaticism were let loose against the Radicals and Liberals, among whom even the Voltairean Thiers was included, and against the Bonapartists was directed the terrorism of court-martial.

The French could not rest with the thought that their military supremacy had been broken by the superiority of the German arms; their defeats, said they, could have proceeded only from the treachery or incapacity of their leaders. To this national prejudice the government decided to bow, and to offer a sacrifice to the popular passion. And thus the world beheld the lamentable spectacle of the commanders who had surrendered the French fortresses to the enemy being subjected to a trial by court-martial under the presidency of Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers, and the majority of them, on account of their proved incapacity or weakness, deprived of their military honours, at a moment when all had cause to reproach themselves and to endeavour

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to raise up a new structure on the ruins of the past. Even Ulrich, the once celebrated commander of Strasburg, whose name had been given to a street in Paris, was brought under the censure of the court-martial. But the chief blow fell upon the commander-in-chief at Metz, Marshal Bazaine, to whose shameful surrender of the town he was holding the whole misfortune of France was attributed; had he held out but another fortnight, which, with the men, the arms, and the stores that he had at his command, he was very well able to do, the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War might have been very different from what it was. For months Bazaine was a prisoner at Versailles, and in 1873 the court-martial took place under the presidency of the Duc d'Aumale. The Marshal was condemned to death; but this sentence was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment, and before long Bazaine contrived to escape. He hid himself and his shame in Spain, where he died in 1888.

### MACMAHON A ROYALIST PRESIDENT

The result of the party division in the Assembly was, in May, 1873, a vote of censure on the ministry, which induced them to resign. Their resignation was followed by an offer of resignation on the part of Thiers, who experienced the unexpected slight of having it accepted by the majority of the Assembly, the monarchist MacMahon, Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta, being elected president in his place. Thiers had just performed one of his greatest services to France, by paying off the last instalment of the war indemnity and relieving the soil of his country of the hated German troops.

The party now in power at once began to lay plans to carry out their cherished purpose of placing a Legitimist king upon the throne, this honour being offered to the Count de Chambord, grandson of Charles X. He, an old man, put a sudden end to the hopes of his partisans by his mediæval

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conservatism. Their purpose was to establish a constitutional government, under the tricoloured flag of revolutionary France; but the old Bourbon gave them to understand that he would not consent to reign under the Tricolour, but must remain steadfast to the white banner of his ancestors; he had no desire to be 'the legitimate king of revolution.'

This letter shattered the plans of his supporters. No man with ideas like these would be tolerated on the French throne. There was never to be in France a King Henry V. The Monarchists, in disgust at the failure of their schemes, elected MacMahon President of the Republic for a term of seven years, and for the time being the reign of republicanism in France was made secure.

In 1875 the constitution under which France is now governed was adopted by the Republicans. It provides for a legislature of two chambers; one a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people, the other a Senate of 300 members, 75 of whom are elected for nine years by the Senate itself, and the others, by electoral colleges in the departments of France for four years. The two chambers unite to elect a president, who has a term of seven years. He is commander-in-chief of the army, appoints all officers, receives all ambassadors, executes the laws, and appoints the Cabinet, which is responsible to the Senate and House of Deputies—thus resembling the Cabinet of Great Britain.

This constitution was soon ignored by the arbitrary president, who forced the resignation of a Cabinet which he could not control, and replaced it by another responsible to himself instead of to the Assembly. His act of autocracy roused a violent opposition. Gambetta moved that the representatives of the people had no confidence in a Cabinet which was not free in its actions and not republican in its principles. The sudden death of Thiers (September 3rd, 1877), whose last writing was a defence of the republic, stirred the heart

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of the nation and added to the excitement, which soon reached fever heat. In the election that followed the Republicans were in so great a majority over the Conservatives that the president was compelled either to resign or to govern according to the constitution. He accepted the latter alternative, and appointed a Cabinet composed of Republicans. But the acts of the legislature, which passed laws to prevent arbitrary action by the executive and to secularize education, so exasperated the old soldier that he finally resigned.

### GRÉVY, GAMBETTA, AND BOULANGER

Jules Grévy was elected president in his place, and Gambetta was made president of the House of Deputies. Subsequently he was chosen presiding minister in a Cabinet composed wholly of his own creatures. His career in this high office was a brief one. The Chambers refused to support him in his arbitrary measures and he resigned in disgust. Soon after, on the last day of 1882, the self-appointed dictator, who had played so prominent a part in the war with Prussia, died from an accidental gun-shot wound.

The constitution was revised in 1884, the republic now declared permanent and final, and at the close of the following year Grévy was again elected president. General Boulanger, the Minister of War in the new government, succeeded in making himself highly popular, many looking upon him as a coming Napoleon, by whose genius the republic would be overthrown.

In 1887 Grévy resigned, in consequence of a scandal concerning traffic in the decorations of the Legion of Honour, in which his son-in-law was implicated, and was succeeded by Sadi Carnot, grandson of a famous general of the first republic. Under the new president two striking events took place. General Boulanger managed to lift himself into great prominence, and gain a powerful following of both Democrats and Royalists. Carried away by self-esteem,



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he defied his superiors, and when tried and found guilty, was strong enough to overthrow the ministry, to gain reelection to the Chamber of Deputies, and to defeat a second ministry.

But his reputation was declining, and the next Cabinet being hostile to his intrigues, he fled to Brussels to escape arrest. Tried by the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, he was found guilty of plotting against the state and sentenced to imprisonment for life. His career soon after ended in suicide (1891) and his party disappeared.

### THE PANAMA CANAL SCANDAL

During these years the Panama Canal project gained unenviable notoriety. De Lesseps, the maker of the Suez Canal, had undertaken to excavate a similar one across the isthmus of Panama, but the work was managed with such wild extravagance that the investors were entirely ruined, while the canal remained a half-dug ditch. At a later date this affair became a great scandal, dishonest bargains in connection with it were abundantly unearthed, bribery was shown to have been common in high places, and France was shaken to its centre by the startling exposure. De Lesseps, fortunately for him, escaped imprisonment by death, but others of the leaders in the enterprise were punished.

In the succeeding years perils manifold threatened the existence of the French Republic. A moral decline seemed to have sapped the foundations of public virtue, and the new military organization rose to a dangerous height of power, becoming a monster of ambition and iniquity which overshadowed and portended evil to the state. The spirit of anarchy, which had been so strikingly displayed in the excesses of the Parisian Commune, was shown later in various instances of death and destruction by the use of dynamite bombs, exploded in Paris and elsewhere. But its most



AN ALGERIAN SHARPSHOOTER WITH THE FRENCH ARMY  
IN WINTER UNIFORM

*Photo "Daily Mirror"*



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striking example was in the murder of President Carnot, who was stabbed by an anarchist in the streets of Lyons on June 24th, 1894. This assassination, and the disheartening exposures of dishonesty in the Panama Canal case trials, stirred the moral sentiment of France to its depths, and made many of the best citizens despair of the permanency of the republic.

### DESOTISM OF THE ARMY LEADERS

But the most alarming threat came from the army, which had grown in power and prominence until its leaders felt competent to set at defiance the civil authorities. This despotic army was an outgrowth of the Franco-Prussian War. The terrible punishment which the French had received in that war, and in particular the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, had filled them with bitter hatred of Germany and a burning desire for revenge. Yet it was evident that their military organization was so imperfect as to leave them helpless before the army of Germany, and the first thing to be done was to place themselves on a level in military strength with their foe. To this President Thiers had earnestly devoted himself, and the work of army organization went on until all France was virtually converted into a great camp, defended by powerful fortresses, and nearly the whole male population of the country was made part of the army.

The final result of this was the development of one of the most complete and well-appointed military establishments in Europe. The immediate cause of the reorganization of the army gradually passed away. As time went on the intense feeling against Germany softened and the danger of war decreased. But the army became more and more dominant in France, and, as the century neared its end, the autocratic position of its leaders was revealed by a startling event, which showed vividly to the world the moral decadence of France and the controlling influence and dominating power



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of the members of the General Staff. This was the celebrated Dreyfus Case, the *cause célèbre* of the period. At the time concerned it excited the utmost interest, stirring France to its centre, and attracting the earnest attention of the world. It aroused indignation as well as interest, and years passed before it lost its hold on public attention. It can be dealt with here only with great brevity.

### THE DREYFUS CASE

Albert Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew, and a captain of artillery in the French army, was arrested on October 15, 1894, on the charge of having sold military secrets to a foreign Power. A letter and a document consisting of a list detailing the secrets forming the basis of the charge were said to have been found at the German Embassy by a French detective, in what was declared to be the handwriting of Dreyfus. Dreyfus was at once arrested.

Previous to his arrest, the editor of the *Libre Parole* had been carrying on a violent anti-semitic agitation in his paper. He now raved about the Jews in general, declared Dreyfus guilty of selling army secrets to the Germans, and by his crusade turned public opinion in Paris strongly against all Jews, and particularly against the accused. He was tried before a military court, which sat behind closed doors, kept parts of the indictment from the knowledge of the prisoner and his lawyer, and in other ways showed unfairness.

As a result of this secret trial Dreyfus was found guilty, condemned to be degraded from his military rank, and imprisoned for life in the penal settlement of Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana, a tropical region, desolate and malarious in character. The sentence was executed with the most cruel harshness.

Dreyfus never ceased to deny his guilt. The letters he wrote to his counsel after the trial and after his disgrace are most pathetic assertions of his innocence, and of the hope that

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ultimately justice would be done him; and his wife and family continued to use every influence to get his case reopened.

The whole affair in time excited a strong suspicion that Dreyfus had been used as a scapegoat for some one in high authority, and had been unjustly condemned, the fact of his being a Jew being used to excite prejudice against him. Many eminent literary men of France advocated the revision of a sentence which did not appeal to the sense of justice of the best French element.

It was declared that military secrets continued to leak out after Dreyfus's arrest, and that the handwriting of the letter found was closely similar to that of Count Ferdinand Esterhazy, an officer in the French army, of noble Hungarian descent. This matter was so ventilated that some action became necessary and Esterhazy was tried secretly by court-martial, the trial ending in acquittal.

At this juncture Émile Zola, the celebrated novelist, stepped into the fray as a defender of Dreyfus, writing a notable letter to President Faure, in which he accused the members of the court-martial of acquitting Esterhazy under order of their chiefs, who would not admit that a military court of France could possibly make a mistake.

This letter led to the arrest and secret trial of Zola and of the editor who published it. They were found guilty and sentenced to a heavy fine and a year's imprisonment. Zola escaped imprisonment by taking refuge in London.

By this time the interest of the whole world was enlisted in the case, the action of the French courts was everywhere condemned, and in the end it was deemed advisable to bring Dreyfus back to France and accord him a new trial. This trial, which lasted from August 7th to September 9th, 1899, indicated that he had been convicted on the most flimsy and uncertain evidence, largely conjectural in character, while there was strong evidence in his favour. Yet the judges of the court-martial seemed biased against him, and by a vote

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of three judges to two, he was again found guilty—"of treason with extenuating circumstances," as if treason could be extenuated—and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

The whole affair was a transparent travesty upon justice, and the method by which it was conducted threw into a strong light the faulty character of the French method of trial. The result, indeed, was so flagrantly unsatisfactory that ten days after the sentence had been pronounced he was pardoned by the president and immediately set at liberty. In July, 1906, his case was reopened before the Court of Appeal, with the result that he was acquitted, restored to his rank in the army, and decorated with the Legion of Honour.

### CHURCH AND STATE

Later events of interest in French history had to do with the status of the Catholic Church in France and with the relations of France, Germany, and Spain to Morocco, the latter more than once threatening war. The union of Church and State in France, which had only before been broken during the turbulent period of the Revolution, was definitely abrogated by a law of December 19th, 1905. By this, and a supplementary Act in 1907, the Catholic Church was put on the same footing in the republic as the Protestant and Jewish congregations. The use of church buildings, which had been the property of the State since the Revolution, was granted only under conditions which the Pope refused to accept, and religious liberty made a radical advance in France.

### THE MOROCCO CONTROVERSY

Meanwhile troubles had arisen on the borders of Algeria between the French army of occupation and the unruly Moroccan tribes beyond the boundary. The efforts of France to abate these disturbances, which found support in the British Government, aroused opposition in Germany, which

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objected to the claim of France to a predominant interest in Morocco. The affair went so far that in March, 1905, the Emperor William II visited Tangier, had a conference with the representatives of the Sultan, and was reported to have agreed to enforce the integrity of Morocco. The friction that resulted was allayed by a conference of the Powers held at Algeciras, Spain, in the following September, and the trouble was temporarily settled by a series of resolutions establishing a number of reforms in Morocco, the privileged position of France along the Moroccan-Algerian frontier being acknowledged.

Disturbances continued, however, and the murder of a French doctor by the tribesmen in March, 1907, led to the occupation of a Moroccan town by French troops. Later in the year a more serious affair took place at the port of Casablanca, which was raided by insurgent tribesmen, and European labourers and others were massacred. A French force landed on August 7th and a desperate fight took place, during which nearly every inhabitant of the town who had not fled was killed or wounded, the dead alone numbering thousands.

In 1911 matters in Morocco grew serious, there being severe fighting by Spanish troops in the Spanish concession around Alcazar, while tribal outbreaks against Fez, the Sultan's capital, brought a French military expedition to that point. By this, communication between the capital and the coast was established, the French Government undertaking to organize the Sultan's army and carry out certain works of public improvement.

These movements revived the suspicions of Germany, and that country took the decisive step of sending a war vessel to Agadir, a southern port of Morocco, with the ostensible purpose of protecting the persons and property of German subjects. This act led to the suspicion in France that Germany meant more than she said and that her real purpose



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was to gain a permanent hold on Moroccan territory. There was heated talk of war, but the affair was, in the end, amicably adjusted.

It became known that France wished to secure a free hand in Morocco, outside of the coastal provinces held by Spain, and was willing in return to cede to Germany a considerable amount of territory in French Congo. The agreement finally reached, with the assent of the other Powers, especially Spain, which had a vital interest in the problem, was that France should be given a protectorate over Morocco, and in return Germany should receive about 102,300 square miles of the French Congo (in Equatorial Africa) adjoining the German district of Kamerun, containing a population of from 600,000 to 1,000,000, France retaining certain rights of way in the region.

Thus ended a source of dispute which had more than once threatened war. It ended greatly to the advantage of France, whose interests in Morocco far outweighed any advantages likely to arise from her holdings in Central Africa. Behind all this lay the probability that her influence in and hold upon Morocco would increase until eventually it would develop into a virtual, perhaps an actual, sovereignty over that country.

## CHAPTER XXI

### GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES

#### THE COLONIZING NATIONS

*Great Britain as a World-Power : Colonies in the Pacific Region : Colonization in Africa : British Colonies in Africa : The Mahdi Rebellion in Egypt : Gordon at Khartoum : Suppression of the Mahdi Revolt : Colonization in Asia : The British in India : Colonies in America : Development of Canada : Progress in Canada*

THE history of colonization in modern times may be said to date from the discovery of the New World in 1492, and almost from the very first Great Britain was one of the leaders of those nations which sought in untilled lands an outlet for their surplus populations. In the era preceding the nineteenth century Spain, France, and Great Britain were, as they had always been, the great colonizing Powers, and it was in this period that Great Britain's rapid advance to the foremost position took place.

The Powers active in colonization within the nineteenth century, Great Britain and France, were the great rivals of the preceding period. But the former gained a decided start, and its colonial empire to-day surpasses that of any other nation of mankind. It is so enormous, in fact, as to dwarf the parent kingdom, which is related to its colonial dominion, so far as comparative acreage alone is concerned, as the small brain of the elephant is related to its great body. Other Powers, not heard of as colonizers in the past, have since come into this field, though too late to obtain any of the great prizes. These are Germany and Italy, the latter having recently added to its acquisitions by the conquest of Tripoli. But there is a Great Power still to name, which in its way stands as a rival to Great Britain, the empire of Russia, whose acquisitions in Asia have grown enormously in extent. These are not colonies in the ordinary sense, but

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rather results of the expansion of an empire through warlike aggression. Yet they are colonial in the sense of absorbing the excess population of European Russia. The greater part of Siberia was annexed by Russia long before the dawn of the nineteenth century, but within comparatively recent years the Russian dominion in Asia has greatly increased, and has now become enormous, extending from the Arctic Ocean to the borders of Afghanistan, Persia, and the Asiatic empire of Turkey.

### GREAT BRITAIN AS A WORLD-POWER

With this preliminary review we may proceed to consider the history of colonization within the recent period. And first we must take up the results of the colonial enterprise of Great Britain, as much the most important of the whole. In addition to Hindustan, in which the dominion of Great Britain now extends to Afghanistan and Tibet in the north, the British acquisitions in Asia included at the outbreak of the Great War of 1914 Burma and the west-coast region of Indo-China, with the Straits Settlements in the Malay peninsula, and the island of Ceylon, acquired in 1802 from Holland, besides places of less importance.

In the eastern seas Great Britain possesses a valuable colony of vast dimensions, the continental island of Australia, which, with its area of over 3,063,000 square miles, is more than four-fifths the size of Europe. The first British settlement was made here in 1788, at Port Jackson, the site of the present thriving city of Sydney, and the island was long maintained as a penal settlement, convicts being sent there as late as the early 'fifties. It was to the discovery of gold in 1851 that Australia owed its great progress. This attraction drew the enterprising by thousands, until the population of the colony is now more than 4,800,000, and is still growing at a rapid rate. There are other valuable resources besides gold, especially meat and wool. Of its cities,

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Melbourne, the capital of Victoria, with its suburbs, has more than 590,000 population ; Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, 637,000, while there are other cities of rapid growth. Australia is the one important British colony obtained without a war. In its human beings, as in its animals generally, it stood at a low level of development, and it was taken possession of almost without a protest from the scanty savage inhabitants.

### COLONIES IN THE PACIFIC REGION

The same cannot be said of New Zealand, an important group of islands lying south-east of Australia, which was acquired by Great Britain as a colony in 1840. The Maoris, as the people of these islands call themselves, are of the bold and sturdy Polynesian race, a brave, generous, and warlike people, who have given their British lords and masters no little trouble. In 1840 there were probably about 100,000 Maoris in the islands, by the close of the century their numbers had dwindled to 43,000, but since then there has been an increase and they now total about 50,000. A series of wars with the natives began in 1843 and continued with interruptions until 1869, since which time New Zealand has enjoyed peace. At present this colony is one of the most advanced politically of any region on the face of the earth, so far as attention to the interests of the masses of the people is concerned, and its laws and regulations offer a useful object-lesson to the rest of the world.

In addition to those great island dominions in the Pacific, Great Britain possesses the Fiji Islands, the northern part of Borneo, and a large section of the extensive island of Papua or New Guinea, the remainder of which, at the beginning of the Great War was held by Holland and Germany, but in the second week of September, 1914, the headquarters of the German portion was captured by an Australian expedition and the Union Jack supplanted the German flag.



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Besides these Great Britain has various coaling stations on the islands and coasts of Asia. In the Mediterranean her possessions are Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, and in America the great Dominion of Canada, a considerable number of the islands of the West Indies, the districts of British Honduras and British Guiana, and the Falkland Islands.

The history of colonization in two of the continents, Asia and Africa, presents certain features of singularity. Though known from the most ancient times, while America was quite unknown till little over four centuries ago, the striking fact presents itself that at an early date in the nineteenth century the continents of North and South America had been largely explored, while the interior of Asia and Africa remained in great part untrodden. This fact in regard to Asia was due to the hostile attitude of its people, which rendered it dangerous for European travellers to attempt to penetrate its interior. In the case of Africa it was due to the inhospitality of nature, which had placed the most serious obstacles in the way of those who sought to enter it beyond the coast regions. This state of affairs continued until the latter half of the century, within which period there was a remarkable change in the aspect of affairs, both continents being penetrated in all directions and their walls of isolation completely broken down.

### COLONIZATION IN AFRICA

Africa is not only now well known, but the exploration of its interior has been followed by political changes of the most revolutionary character. It presented a virgin field for colonization, of which the land-hungry nations of Europe hastened to avail themselves, dividing up the continent between them until, by the end of the century, the partition of Africa was practically complete. It is one of the most remarkable circumstances in history that so accessible a continent remained thus so long unexplored, to serve in our

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own days as a new field for the outpouring of the nations. The occupation of Africa by non-Africans, indeed, began earlier. The Arabs had held the section north of the Sahara for many centuries, Portugal claimed—but scarcely occupied—large sections east and west, and the Dutch had a thriving settlement in the south. But the exploration and division of the bulk of the continent waited for the nineteenth century, and the greater part of the work of partition took place within its last twenty or thirty years.

In this work of colonization Great Britain and France stand foremost in energy and success. To-day the British possessions and protectorates in Africa embrace 3,446,000 square miles, a figure which includes Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan, over which a British Protectorate was formally proclaimed in December, 1914, the last vestige of Turkish suzerainty having been forfeited by Turkey joining forces with Germany and Austria in the Great War. The claims of France, including a large area of the Sahara desert, are much larger, covering 4,300,000 square miles. Germany lays claim to 930,000; Italy, to 591,000; Portugal, to 800,000; Spain, to 86,000; the Congo Free State to 800,000 square miles. The parts of Africa unoccupied or unclaimed by Europeans are a portion of the Desert of Sahara, which no one wants; Abyssinia, still independent; Morocco, a French protectorate; and Liberia, a negro state over which rests the shadow of protection by the United States.

### BRITISH COLONIES IN AFRICA

Of the British colonial possessions in Africa the most important is that in the far south, extending now from Cape Town to Lake Tanganyika, and including an immense area replete with natural resources and capable of sustaining a very large population. This region, originally settled in the Cape Town region by the Dutch, was acquired by the British as a result of a European war. Subsequently the Boers—descendants

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of the Dutch settlers—made their way north, beyond the British jurisdiction, and founded the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State. The British of Cape Town at a later date followed them north, settling Natal, defeating the Zulus and acquiring new territory, and eventually coming into hostile contact with the Boers.

Defeated at first by the latter, a war of conquest broke out in 1899, ending in 1902 with the overthrow of the Boer republics, after a brave and vigorous resistance on their part. Under the ambitious leadership of Cecil Rhodes and others British dominion in South Africa was extended northward over Rhodesia and Bechuanaland, reaching, as stated, as far north as Lake Tanganyika and embracing an area of over 1,200,000 square miles. Other British colonial possessions in that continent include the large province of British East Africa, covering over 500,000 square miles inclusive of Somaliland, and possessions on the west coast of 490,000 square miles area.

We have mentioned the respective regions held by other European nations in Africa, France surpassing Great Britain in colonial area though not in population, nor in the adaptability of its soil to the white man's use. Among the French African possessions are included the great island of Madagascar, lying off the east coast of the continent. Mention should be made here of the extensive and promising Congo Free State, under the suzerainty of Belgium. Covering 800,000 square miles, it comprises the populous and richly agricultural centre of Africa, its vast extent of navigable waters yielding communication through its every part.

The occupation of the British part of Africa was not consummated without hostile activities. We have already spoken of the wars with the Boers ; of other hostile relations may be mentioned the expedition to Abyssinia in 1868, the suppression of the revolt of Arabi Pasha in 1879, and the series of events arising from the Mahdist outbreak in 1880.



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## THE MAHDI REBELLION IN EGYPT

The latter events call for some mention. We have told in a previous chapter how Britain became dominant in Egypt. The finances of the country became so involved that they were placed under the Dual Control, and the revolt of Arabi Pasha soon followed. This was repressed by Great Britain, which bombarded Alexandria, France taking no part. As a result the co-ordinate influence of France ended, and Great Britain was left as the practical ruler of Egypt, which position she maintained unaltered until the proclamation of the Protectorate in December, 1914.

In 1881 began an important series of events. A Moham-medan prophet arose in the Sudan, claiming to be the Mahdi, a Messiah of the Mussulmans. A large body of devoted believers soon gathered around him, and he set up an independent sultanate in the desert, defeating four Egyptian expeditions sent against him, and capturing El Obeid, the chief city of Kordofan, which he made his capital in 1883.

The effort to subdue the outbreak proved a long and arduous one, and was accomplished only after many years and much loss to the British and Egyptian forces. No time was lost in sending an army against the fanatical Arabs. This was led by an English officer known as Hicks Pasha. He fell into a Mahdist ambush at Kashgil in the desert, some thirty miles south of El Obeid, and after a desperate struggle, lasting three days, his force was almost completely annihilated, Hicks being the last to die. Very few of his men escaped to tell the tale of their defeat.

Other expeditions of Egyptian troops sent against Osman Digna ('Osman the Ugly'), a lieutenant of the Mahdi, similarly met with defeat, and the Mahdists invested and besieged the towns of Sinkat and Tokar.

To relieve these towns, Baker Pasha, a daring and able British leader, was sent with a force of 3500 men. Unfortunately, his troops were mainly Egyptian, and the result



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of the preceding expeditions had inspired these with a more than wholesome fear of the Mahdists. They met a party of the latter, only about 1000 strong, at a point south of Suakim, on the Red Sea. Instantly the Egyptians broke into a panic of terror and were surrounded and butchered in a frightful slaughter.

“Inside the square,” said an eye-witness, “the state of affairs was almost indescribable. Cavalry, infantry, mules, camels, falling baggage, and dying men were crushed into a struggling, surging mass. The Egyptians were shrieking madly, hardly attempting to run away, but trying to shelter themselves one behind another.” “The conduct of the Egyptians was simply disgraceful,” said another officer. “Armed with rifle and bayonet they allowed themselves to be slaughtered, without an effort at self-defence, by savages inferior to them in numbers and armed only with spears and swords.”

Baker and his staff officers, seeing affairs were hopeless, charged the enemy and cut their way through to the shore, but of the total force two-thirds were left dead or wounded on the field. Such was the ‘massacre’ of El Teb on February 4th, 1884, which was followed four days afterward by the capture of Sinkat and slaughter of its garrison.

To avenge this butchery, General Graham was sent from Cairo with 4000 British troops. These advanced upon Osman and in the following month completely defeated him in two engagements.

### GORDON AT KHARTOUM

In February of the same year General Charles Gordon—the famous Chinese Gordon—ascended the Nile to Khartoum, to relieve the Egyptian garrison of that city. He failed in this, the Arabs of the Sudan flocking to the standard of the Mahdi in such multitudes that Khartoum was cut off

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from all communication with the north, leaving Gordon and the garrison in a position of dire peril.

An expedition led by Lord Wolseley, the hero of the Zulu and Ashanti Wars, was sent to their relief. It advanced in two sections, a desert and a river column. Two furious attacks were made by the Mahdists on the desert troops, both being repulsed with heavy loss. On reaching the river, they proceeded in steamers which Gordon had sent down the Nile to meet them. But there was unavoidable delay, and when the vicinity of Khartoum was reached, on January 28th, 1885, it was learned that the town had been taken and Gordon killed two days before. All his men, 4000 in number, were killed with him.

### SUPPRESSION OF THE MAHDI REVOLT

After this misfortune the Arabs were left in possession for nearly twelve years, no other expedition being sent until 1896, while it was not until 1898 that the Anglo-Egyptian forces reached the vicinity of Khartoum. They were commanded by Sir Herbert Kitchener, afterwards Earl Kitchener and Secretary of State for War. His men were well drilled and very different in character from those led by Baker Pasha. They met the Arabs at Omdurman, near Khartoum, and gave them a crushing defeat, more than 15,000 of them falling, while the British loss was only about 500. This ended the Arab resistance and the Sudan was restored to Egypt, fourteen years after it had been taken by the Mahdi.

Brief mention of the holdings of other nations in Africa must suffice. Germany had, before she made the step that plunged the world into war, large areas in East Africa and South-West Africa, with smaller holdings elsewhere. The possessions of France extend from Algeria and Tunis southward over the Sahara and the Sudan, with holdings on the east and west coasts. Portugal has large, feebly held

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districts in the south-central coast region, and Italy holds small districts on the Red Sea and Somaliland and the recently acquired Tripoli. Spain's holdings are on the coast of Morocco and on the borders of the Sahara.

### COLONIZATION IN ASIA

The colonizing enterprise in Asia within recent years has been confined to Great Britain, France, and Russia, which nations have gained large possessions in that great continent. Russia has made its way during several centuries of conquest over Siberia and Central Asia, until its immense possessions have encroached upon Persia and Afghanistan in the south and China in the east. At present, while the dominion of Russia in Europe, inclusive of Poland and Finland, comprises rather over 2,050,000 square miles, that in Asia is more than 6,387,000 square miles, the total area of this colossal empire being more than equal in area to the entire continent of North America, and considerably more than twice that of Europe. The possessions of other nations in Asia are, with the exception of some small holdings on the Chinese coast which will be dealt with in a later chapter, in the south of that continent. Holland has a group of rich islands in the Indian Ocean, Portugal some small possessions, and France a large area in Indo-China, gained by invasion and conquest. This includes Cambodia, Cochin-China and Tonquin, won by hard fighting since 1862.

Great Britain, in addition to the extensive peninsula of India, with the neighbouring rich island of Ceylon, has of late years acquired the fertile plains of Burma, now included in its Empire of India, the whole covering an area of nearly 2,000,000 square miles. Its other Asiatic possessions include Hong-Kong, in China; the Straits Settlements and other Malay states; Borneo and Sarawak; Aden, commanding the Red Sea; and Socotra, at the entrance to the Gulf of Aden.





INDIAN TROOPS WATERING THEIR PACK-MULES

*Photo Alfieri*





# GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES

## THE BRITISH IN INDIA

The British control of India began with the founding of commercial settlements early in the seventeenth century. Areas of land were gradually acquired and rivalry began later between England and France for the control of Indian territory. The power of the British East India Company in India was largely extended both by the military operations of the famous Lord Clive, and by Warren Hastings, a later governor.

During the nineteenth century many accessions of territory were made, the one threat to British dominion in the peninsula being the great Sepoy rebellion, or Indian Mutiny, in 1857, which needed all the resources of the Company to overcome. The most important event that succeeded was the taking over of the powers of government, so far exercised by the East India Company, and vesting them in the Crown, which assumed full control of the now immense holdings of the Company. Subsequently, in 1877, came the raising of India to the dignity of an empire, and the adding to the title of Queen Victoria the further title of Empress of India. Since that period the establishment of British dominion in India has become almost complete, extending to the Himalayas in the north, and over Baluchistan in the west, and Burma in the east. As a result India, Canada, and Australia have become the great trio of semi-continental British possessions, India being far the richest and most populous of them all.

## COLONIES IN AMERICA

We have next to deal with the British colonial possessions in America, including the great Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland, and the minor holdings of British Guiana, British Honduras, and the several islands of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, the Bahamas, and the Bermudas. Of these Canada is the only one that calls for extended notice.

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The vast Dominion of Canada occupies the northern section of the western hemisphere, and covers an immense area of the earth's surface, surpassing that of the United States, and greater than that of the whole of the mainland of Europe. Its population, however, is not in accordance with its dimensions, though of late it is growing rapidly, being now nearly 8,000,000. The bleak and inhospitable character of much the greater part of its area is likely to debar it from ever having any other than a scanty nomad population, fur animals being its principal useful product. It is, however, always unsafe to predict. The discovery of gold in a part of this region, that traversed by the Klondike River, in 1896 brought miners by the thousands to that wintry realm, and it would be very unwise to declare that the remainder of the great northern region contains no treasures for the craving hands of man. So far as the fertile regions of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan are concerned, their great wheat-producing capacity has added immensely to the national wealth of Canada, which promises to become one of the great wheat-growing regions of the earth.

First settled by the French in the seventeenth century, this country came under British control in 1763, as a result of the great struggle for dominion between the two active colonizing Powers in America. The outcome of this conquest is the fact that Canada, like the other colonies of Great Britain, possesses a large alien population, in this case of French origin.

### DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA

At the opening of the nineteenth century the population of Canada was small, and its resources were only slightly developed. Its people did not reach the million mark until about 1840, though after that date the tide of immigration flowed thither with considerable strength and the population grew with some rapidity. In 1791 the original province of

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Quebec had been divided into Upper and Lower Canada, a political separation which led to severe political conflicts, with the result that in 1841 the provinces were reunited.

Upper Canada, at the opening of the eighteenth century, was only slightly developed, the country being a vast forest, without towns, without roads, and practically shut out from the remainder of the world. The sparse population endured much suffering, which, in 1788, deepened into a destructive famine, long remembered as a terrible visitation. But it began to grow with the new century; numbers crossed the Niagara River from the States to the fertile lands beyond, immigrants crossed the water from Great Britain and France, Toronto was made the capital city, and the population of the province soon rose to 30,000 in number. Lower Canada, however, with its old cities of Quebec and Montreal, and its flourishing settlements along the St Lawrence River, continued the most populous section of the country, though its people were almost exclusively of French origin. The strength of the British lay in the upper province.

In time the confederation which existed between the two larger provinces of Canada became unfitted to serve the purposes of the entire colony. The maritime provinces began to discuss the question of local federation, and it was finally proposed to unite all British North America into one general union. This was done in 1867, the British Parliament passing an Act which created the 'Dominion of Canada.' The new confederation included Ontario (Upper Canada), Quebec (Lower Canada), New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Four years later Manitoba and British Columbia were included, and Prince Edward's Island in 1874. Since then other additions have been made. A parliament was formed consisting of a Senate of life members chosen by the Governor-General in Council and an Assembly elected by the people.

The important questions which have arisen in Canada since



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the dates above given have had largely to do with its relations to the United States and its people. One of the most troublesome of these was that concerned with the productive fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. For years the problem of the rights of American fishermen in these regions excited controversy.

Several partial settlements were made, and as a result of the Washington Treaty of 1871 the United States Government paid over £1,130,000 into the Canadian treasury, that sum being agreed upon as the value for twelve years of the fisheries, over and above the benefits that accrued to Canada through the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty between her and the United States in 1866.

This settlement came to an end in 1885, and a special commission reported on the subject. Nothing more was done, however, and from 1887 to 1912 the matter was arranged by an annually renewed treaty, but at the latter date an agreement through The Hague Tribunal was arrived at between Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States.

The discovery of gold on the Klondike River in 1896 developed another problem, that of the true boundary between Alaska and Canada. At first, under the belief that the gold region was in Alaska, it brought a rush of American miners to that region. But it was soon found that the mining region was in Canada, and the mining laws imposed by the Canadian authorities were bitterly objected to by the American miners. The question of boundary has since been definitely settled, and the present boundary line marked out by a scientific commission.

The industrial development of the country within recent years has been great. Agriculturally the development of the fertile wheat fields of the middle west is of the most promising character, while railway progress has been highly encouraging. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway

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was a remarkable enterprise. In more recent times Canada has been approaching a position of rivalry with the United States in the matter of railways, a new transcontinental line, the Grand Trunk Pacific, having been completed in 1914, while the Canadian Northern is rapidly progressing.

### PROGRESS IN CANADA

Railways have spread like a network over the rich agricultural territory along the southern border land of the Dominion, from ocean to ocean, and are now pushing into the deep forest land and rich mineral and agricultural regions of the interior and the north-west, their total length in 1914 approaching 30,000 miles.

These railways have been built largely under different forms of government aid, such as land grants, cash subsidies, loans, the issue of debentures, and the guarantee of bonds of interest.

In manufacturing industry almost every branch of production is to be found, the progressive enterprise of the people of the Dominion being great, and a large proportion of the goods they need being made at home.

Not only is the outside world largely ignorant of the importance of Canada, but many of her own people fail to realize the greatness of the country they possess. Its area of more than three and one-half millions of square miles—one-sixteenth of the entire land surface of the earth—is great enough to include an immense variety of natural conditions and products. This area constitutes forty per cent. of the far-extended British Empire, while its richness of soil and resources in forest and mineral wealth are as yet almost untouched, and its promise of future yield is immense. The dimensions of the Dominion guarantee a great variety of natural attractions. There are vast grass-covered plains, thousands of square miles of untouched forest lands, multitudes of lakes and rivers, great and small, and mountains

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of the wildest and grandest character, whose natural beauty equals that of the far-famed Alpine peaks. In fact, the Canadian Pacific Railway is becoming a route of pilgrimage for the lovers of the beautiful and sublime, its mountain scenery being unrivalled upon the continent.

In several conditions the people of Canada, while preserving the general features of English society, are much more free and untrammelled. What there is of caste system in Great Britain has gained little footing in this new land, where nearly every farmer is the owner of the soil which he tills, and the people have a feeling of independence unknown to the agricultural population of European countries. There has been great progress also in many social questions. The liquor traffic, for instance, is subject to the local option restriction; religious liberty prevails; education is practically free and unsectarian; the franchise is enjoyed by all citizens; members of the parliament have for many years been paid for their services; and though the executive department of the government is under the control of a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, the laws of Canada are made by its own statesmen, and a state of practical independence prevails. Recognizing this, and respecting the liberty-loving spirit of the people, Great Britain is chary of interfering with any question of Canadian policy, or in any sense of attempting to limit the freedom of her great transatlantic colony.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA AND JAPAN

#### DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD-POWER IN THE EAST

*Warlike Invasions of China : Commodore Perry and his Treaty : Japan's Rapid Progress : Origin of the Chino-Japanese War : The Position of Korea : Li Hung Chang and the Empress : How Japan began War : The War on the Sea : Conclusion of the War : Europe invades China : China's Wonderful Progress : The Boxer Outbreak : Russian Designs on Manchuria : Japan begins War on Russia : The Armies meet : Port Arthur taken : Russian Fleet defeated : China becomes a Republic*

ASIA, the greatest of the continents and the seat of the earliest civilizations, yields us the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of mankind. In remote ages, while Europe lay plunged in the deepest barbarism, certain sections of Asia were marked by surprising activity in thought and progress. In three far-separated regions—China, India, and Babylonia—and in a fourth on the borders of Asia—Egypt—civilization rose and flourished for ages, while the savage and the barbarian roamed over all other regions of the earth. A still more extraordinary fact is, that during the more recent era, that of European civilization, Asia rested in the most sluggish conservatism, sleeping while Europe and America were actively moving, content with its ancient knowledge while the people of the West were pursuing new learning into its most secret lurking-places.

And this conservatism seemed an almost immovable one. For a century England has been pouring new thought and new enterprise into India, yet the Hindus cling stubbornly to their remotely ancient beliefs and customs, though they show some signs of a political awakening. For over half a century Europe has been hammering upon the gates of China, but not until recently did this sleeping nation show



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any signs of waking to the fact that the world was moving around it. As regards the other early civilizations—Babylonia and Egypt—they long ago were utterly swamped under the tide of Tartar and Turkish barbarism and exist only in their ruins. Persia, once a great and flourishing empire, likewise sank under the flood of Arabian and Turkish invasion, and to-day seems in imminent danger of disintegration. Such was the Asia upon which the nineteenth century dawned, and such it remains in some measure to-day, though in parts of its vast area western civilization has gained a foothold. This is especially the case with the island empire of Japan, the people of which, though they are closely allied in race to those of China, have displayed a far greater progressiveness and a marked readiness to avail themselves of the resources of modern civilization. The development of Japan has taken place within the comparatively brief period since 1868. Previous to that time it was as impervious to western influences as China continued until a later date. They were both closed nations, prohibiting the entrance of modern ideas and peoples, proud of their own form of civilization and their own institutions, and sternly resolved to keep out the disturbing influences of the restless West. As a result, they remained locked against the new civilization until after the mid-nineteenth century, and China's disposition to avail itself of the results of modern invention was not manifested until the century was near its end.

### WARLIKE INVASIONS OF CHINA

China, with its estimated population of 402,000,000, attained to a considerable measure of civilization at a very remote period, but from the commencement of the Christian era until very recently made almost no progress, being content to retain its old ideas, methods, and institutions, which its people looked upon as far superior to those of the western nations. Great Britain gained a foothold in China as early

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as the seventeenth century, but the persistent refusal of the emperor and government of China to recognize in any way the ambassadors and envoys together with the merchants of Great Britain, led at last to the so-called 'Opium War' of 1840. This name arose from the fact that one of the indirect causes that led up to it was the destruction of some one million and a quarter pounds' worth of opium, the property of the British Government, by the Chinese authorities.

In the war China was defeated and one excellent result was that China opened a much greater degree of intercourse with the world, five ports being made free to the world's commerce and Hong-Kong ceded to Great Britain. In 1856 an arbitrary act of the Chinese authorities at Canton, in forcibly boarding a British vessel in the Canton River, led to a new war, in which the French joined the British and the allies gained fresh concessions from China. In 1859 the war was renewed, and Peking was occupied by the British and French forces in 1860, the emperor's summer palace being destroyed.

These wars had their effect in largely breaking down the Chinese wall of seclusion and opening the empire more fully to foreign trade and intercourse, and also in compelling the emperor to receive foreign ambassadors at his court in Peking. In this the United States was among the most successful of the nations, from the fact that it had always maintained friendly relations with China. In 1876 a short railway was laid, and in 1877 a telegraph line was established. During the remainder of the century the telegraph service was widely extended, but the building of railways was strongly opposed by the government, and not until the century had reached its end did the Chinese awaken to the importance of this method of transportation. To-day there are over 6000 miles of railway open in China, exclusive of the Manchurian lines, and over 2000 more in course of

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construction. Steam traffic was admitted to their rivers many years ago, and as early as the 'seventies China purchased ironclads in Europe.

### COMMODORE PERRY AND HIS TREATY

The isolation of Japan was maintained longer than that of China, trade with that country being of less importance, and foreign nations knowing and caring less about it. The United States has the credit of breaking down its long and stubborn seclusion and setting in train the remarkably rapid development of the island empire. In 1854 Commodore Perry appeared with an American fleet in the bay of Yeddo, and, by a show of force and a determination not to be rebuffed, he induced the authorities to make a treaty of commercial intercourse with the United States. Other nations quickly demanded similar privileges, and Japan's obstinate resistance to the foreigner was at an end.

The result of this was revolutionary in Japan. For centuries the Shogun, or Tycoon, the principal military noble, had been dominant in the empire, and the Mikado, the true emperor, relegated to a position of obscurity. But the entrance of foreigners disturbed conditions so greatly—by developing parties for and against seclusion—that the Mikado was enabled to regain his long-lost power, and in 1868 the ancient form of government was restored, the nobles being relegated to their original rank and their semi-feudal system overthrown.

### JAPAN'S RAPID PROGRESS

The Japanese quickly began to show a striking activity in the acceptance of the results of western civilization, alike in regard to objects of commerce, inventions, and industries, and to political organization. The latter advanced so rapidly that in 1889 the old despotic government was, by the voluntary act of the emperor, set aside and a limited monarchy



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established, the country being given a constitution and a legislature (founded on the German, not the English, model, the ministers being directly responsible to the Emperor, not to Parliament), with universal suffrage for all men over twenty-five. This act is of remarkable interest, it being doubtful if history records any similar instance of a monarch decreasing his authority without appeal or pressure from his people. It indicates a liberal spirit that could hardly have been looked for in a nation that had so recently opened its doors. It was, however, probably the result of a previous compact with the nobles who aided the Mikado to regain his throne. To-day, Japan differs little from the nations of Europe and America in its institutions and industries, and from being among the most backward, has taken its place among the most advanced nations of the world.

The Japanese army has been organized upon the European system, and armed with the most modern style of weapons, the German method of drill and organization being adopted. Its navy consists of about two hundred war vessels, built largely in the dockyards of Europe and America, or captured in its two recent wars, while a number of more powerful ships are in process of building. Railways have been widely extended; telegraphs run everywhere; education is in an advancing stage of development, embracing an imperial university at Tokio, and institutions in which foreign languages and science are taught; and in a hundred ways Japan is progressing at a rate which is one of the greatest marvels of the twentieth century. This is particularly notable in view of the longer adherence maintained by the neighbouring empire of China to its old customs, and the slowness with which it yielded to the influx of new ideas.

### ORIGIN OF THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR

As a result of this difference in progress between the two nations we have to describe a remarkable event, one of the



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most striking evidences that could be given of the practical advantage of modern civilization. Near the end of the century war broke out between China and Japan, and there was shown to the world the singular spectacle of a nation of 40,000,000 people, armed with modern implements of war, attacking a nation of 300,000,000—equally brave, but with its army organized on an ancient system—and defeating it as quickly and completely as Germany defeated France in the Franco-Prussian War. This war, which represents a completely new condition of affairs in the continent of Asia, is of sufficient interest and importance to speak of at some length.

Between China and Japan lay the kingdom of Korea, separated by rivers from the former and by a strait of the ocean from the latter, and claimed as a vassal state by both, yet preserving its independence as a state against the pair. Japan invaded this country at two different periods in the past, but failed to conquer it. China has often invaded it, with the same result. Thus it remained practically independent until near the end of the nineteenth century, when the question of predominance in it became a cause of war between the two rival empires, an additional reason for nervousness on the part of Japan being fear lest it should fall into the hands of Russia.

Korea long pursued the same policy as China and Japan, locking its ports against foreigners so closely that it became known as the Hermit Nation. But it was forced to give way, like its neighbours. The opening of Korea was due to Japan. In 1876 the Japanese did to this secluded kingdom what Commodore Perry had done to Japan twenty-two years before. They sent a fleet to Seoul, the Korean capital, and by threat of war forced the government to open to trade the port of Fusan. In 1880 Chemulpo was made an open port. Later on the United States sent a fleet there which obtained similar privileges. Soon afterward most of the

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nations of Europe were admitted to trade, and the seclusion of the Hermit Nation was at an end. Less than ten years had sufficed to break down an isolation which had lasted for centuries. In less than twenty years after—in the year 1899—an electric tramway was put in operation in the streets of Seoul—a remarkable evidence of the great change in Korean policy.

### THE POSITION OF KOREA

Korea was no sooner opened to foreign intercourse than China and Japan became rivals for influence in that country—a rivalry in which Japan showed itself the more active. The Koreans became divided into two factions, a progressive one that favoured Japan, and a conservative one that favoured China. Japanese and Chinese soldiers were landed upon its soil, and the Chinese aided their party, which was in ascendancy among the Koreans, to drive out the Japanese troops. War was threatened, but it was averted by a treaty in 1885 under which both nations agreed to withdraw their troops and to send no officers to drill the Korean soldiers.

The war, thus for the time averted, came nine years afterward, in consequence of an insurrection in Korea. The people of that country were discontented. They were oppressed with taxes and by tyranny, and in 1894 the followers of a new religious sect broke out in open revolt. Their numbers rapidly increased until they were 20,000 strong, and they defeated the government troops, captured a provincial city, and put the capital itself in danger. The Min (or Chinese) faction was then at the head of affairs in the kingdom and called for aid from China, which responded by sending some two thousand troops and a number of war vessels to Korea. China, in accordance with the terms of a previous treaty, notified Japan of this step, and Japan responded by landing a similar number of troops.

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Disputes followed. Both parties claimed to be suzerain of Korea and refused to withdraw their troops; and the Japanese advanced on Seoul, the capital, drove out the officials and took possession of the palace and the king, in the belief that it would be only by such forceful methods that order would ever be restored in Korea and permanent reform inaugurated. A new government, made up of the party that favoured Japan, was organized, and a revolution was accomplished in a day. The new authorities declared that the Chinese were intruders and requested the aid of the Japanese to expel them. War was close at hand.

### LI HUNG CHANG AND THE EMPRESS

China was at that time under the leadership of a statesman of marked ability, the famous Li Hung Chang, who, from being governor of Kiang-su in the early 'sixties, had risen to be the viceroy of Tientsin, commander-in-chief of the army, and chief minister of the empire. At the head of the empire was a woman, the dowager Empress Tsu Tsi, who had usurped the power of the young emperor and ruled the state. It was to these two masterful personages that the war was due. The dowager empress, blindly ignorant of the power of the Japanese, decided that these 'insolent pigmies' deserved to be chastised. Li, her right-hand man, was of the same opinion. At the last moment, indeed, doubts began to assail his mind, into which came a dim idea that the army and navy of China were not in shape to meet the forces of Japan. But the empress was resolute. Her sixtieth birthday was at hand and she proposed to celebrate it magnificently; and what better decorations could she display than the captured banners of these insolent islanders? So it was decided to present a bold front, and, instead of the troops of China being removed, reinforcements were sent to the force in Korea.

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### HOW JAPAN BEGAN WAR

There followed a startling event. On July 25th three Japanese men-of-war, cruising in the Yellow Sea, came in sight of a transport loaded with Chinese troops and convoyed by two ships of the Chinese navy. The Japanese admiral did not know of the seizure of Seoul by the land forces, but he took it to be his duty to prevent Chinese troops from reaching Korea, so he at once attacked the warships of the enemy, with such effect that they were quickly put to flight. Then he sent orders to the transport that it should put about and follow his ships.

This the Chinese generals refused to do. They trusted to the fact that they were on a chartered British vessel and that the British flag flew over their heads. The daring Japanese admiral troubled his soul little about this foreign standard, but at once opened fire on the transport, and with such effect that in half an hour it went to the bottom, carrying with it fifteen hundred men. Only about one hundred and seventy escaped.

On the same day that the transport, the *Kowshing*, was sunk, the Japanese advanced to the attack of Asan, and soon drove the strong Chinese garrison from the place. The latter withdrew to Ping Yang, a strongly fortified position some 170 miles to the north, where they entrenched themselves and awaited the rapidly advancing enemy. In September the Japanese surrounded the city and on the 15th took it by storm. The Chinese, in the attempt to escape to the north, were fallen upon by the enemy, who was already in position, and lost 1500 men before the main body of the troops from Ping Yang could escape across the Yalu River.

### THE WAR ON THE SEA

Meanwhile events had been happening at sea, and two days after the battle of Ping Yang the Chinese suffered another overwhelming defeat off the mouth of the Yalu. On the



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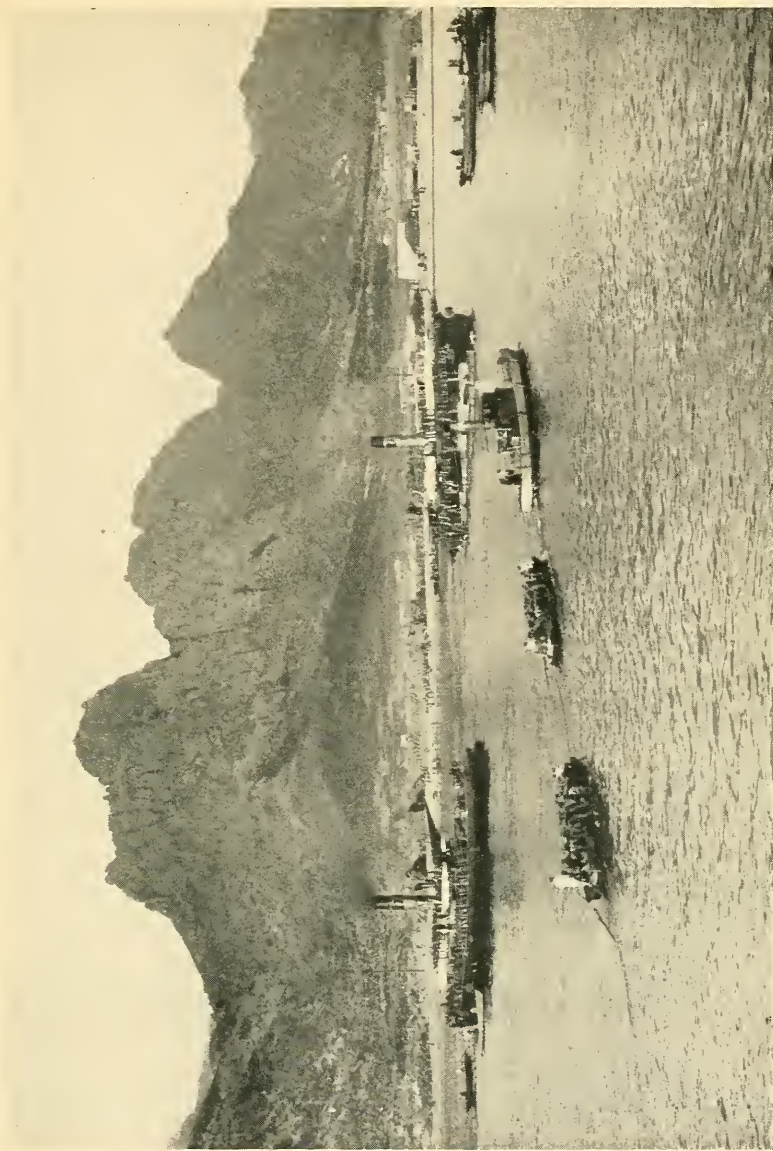
morning of the 17th, Admiral Ito, with the Japanese fleet, sighted the Chinese near the island of Hai-Yang. The latter were under the command of Admiral Ting, and so far as numbers and strength of ships was concerned the fleets were very equally matched. But the Chinese admiral was far outclassed by the Japanese in tactics, and at the close of the three hours' battle the latter were left victors with their whole fleet intact. Two Japanese vessels were badly damaged, however, but the Chinese lost five ships, four sunk and one run aground. The remainder of the vanquished fleet withdrew to Port Arthur, and left the coast free for the landing of a Japanese force, which joined hands with the main army and pushed forward into Manchuria across the Yalu River.

The war on land now degenerated into successive flights of the Chinese across the Liao-Tung peninsula before the victorious enemy, till on November 21st the Japanese, having invested the fortress, attacked Port Arthur and took it after a bombardment of twenty-four hours.

At this point the Chinese began to make half-hearted overtures for peace, but they came to nothing, and the war went on till, early in February, 1895, the Japanese were before Wei-hai-wei, the last fortress remaining in the hands of their adversaries. From February 4th to 9th, a series of naval engagements took place here, and on the latter date Admiral Ting, having lost heavily in ships and men, and realizing that the position was hopeless, surrendered the fortress and committed suicide.

### CONCLUSION OF THE WAR

China was now in a perilous position. Its fleet was lost, its coast strongholds of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei were held by the enemy, and its capital was in imminent danger. A continuation of the war promised to bring about the complete conquest of the Chinese empire, and Li Hung Chang,



JAPANESE LANDING AT TSINGTAU

*Photo Record Press*



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who had been degraded from his official rank in consequence of the disasters to the army, was now restored to all his honours and sent to Japan to sue for peace. In the treaty that followed China was compelled to acknowledge the independence of Korea, to cede to Japan the island of Formosa and the Pescadores group, and that part of Manchuria occupied by the Japanese army, including Port Arthur, also to pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels (about £40,000,000) and open four new treaty ports. This treaty was not fully carried out. The German, Russian, and French ministers strongly advised Japan to give up the clause stipulating for the cession of Chinese territory ; Japan unwillingly agreed, receiving a further 30,000,000 taels. To this forced relinquishment of the fruits of her victory may, in large measure, be attributed the participation of Japan in the Great War twenty years later.

### EUROPE INVADES CHINA

The first result, as regards Europe, of the Chino-Japanese War was a secret convention between China and Russia by which it was probably agreed that in return for rights to construct railways in Manchuria Russia promised China assistance in the event of any further attack by Japan.

The convention has never been made public, but what is known for certain is that the weak and defenceless state of the Flowery Kingdom, as revealed by the victories of Japan, was eagerly seized upon by Germany, who now saw a spot on the surface of the earth where she might at last attain her long-wished-for 'place in the sun.'

Her opportunity came toward the close of 1897, when two of her missionaries were murdered in cold blood in the province of Shantung. As reparation for this crime Germany demanded, and obtained, a ninety-nine years' lease of Kiao-chau and Tsingtau, with the surrounding territory for about thirty-one miles, an indemnity of 200,000 taels,



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and the payment of all the German expenses in connection with the affair.

The day on which the bargain was concluded was a great day for Germany. Kiao-chau was her first—her only—foothold on the continent of Asia, and she set about improving her new acquisition so quickly and so well that ere long the old Chinese town was thoroughly German, with a German population, German shops and dockyards, and one of the finest German forts in existence. So highly has Kiao-chau been regarded by her possessors that the Kaiser is said to have remarked that he would rather see the Russians in Berlin than the Japanese in this one Asiatic protectorate. To anticipate events by some years we may here remark that it was on November 8th, 1914, that the Kaiser saw the Japanese in Kiao-chau; and if it were allowed us to anticipate still further we would say that perhaps the Kaiser's alternative choice is not impossible of fulfilment.

But to return to 1898. Germany's action in the Far East was viewed with no easy feelings in the Chancelleries of Europe, and ere long China found herself bombarded with requests for concessions from the other Great Powers.

Russia was the first in the field, and obtained Port Arthur on the same terms as Germany had been granted Kiao-chau. This cession had far-reaching consequences: it was one of the causes of the Russo-Japanese War that followed a few years later, for to the Japanese this was a particularly hard blow, seeing that so shortly before she had, at the request of Europe, given up her claims on the place, the reason advanced being that the possession of Port Arthur would dominate Peking, and so give any Power holding it undue influence over China. Russia's lease was not, as we shall see, of long duration, for at the close of the war with Japan, in 1905, Port Arthur became Japanese territory by the award of the Treaty of Portsmouth.

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Russia having been satisfied, China did not refuse Great Britain when she asked that she might hold Wei-hai-wei, on the opposite coast of the Gulf of Pechili, for so long as Russia held Port Arthur; and shortly after she was also granted some 200 square miles of territory surrounding Kowloon, on the mainland opposite Hong-Kong, in the south of China.

Farther south still, in the Lien-Chow peninsula, France obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of Kwang-Chow-Wan, which still forms a part of French Indo-China; but when, a few months later, Italy too sent a request for a concession China at last put her foot down and refused to part with any more territory.

### CHINA'S WONDERFUL PROGRESS

Meanwhile within the empire itself revolutionary changes were taking place, the dowager empress having first deprived the emperor of all power and then enforced his abdication.

Li Hung Chang and the other progressive statesmen of the empire, who had long been convinced that the only hope of China lay in its being thrown open to Western science and art, found themselves able to carry out their plans, the conservative opposition having seriously broken down. The result of this was seen in a dozen directions. Railways, long almost completely forbidden, gained free 'right of way,' and promised in the near future to traverse the country far and wide. Steamers ploughed their way for a thousand miles up the Yang-tse-kiang; engineers became busy exploiting the coal and iron mines of the Flowery Kingdom; great factories, equipped with the best modern machinery, sprang up in the foreign settlements; foreign books began to be translated and read; and the empress even went so far as to receive foreign ambassadors in public audience and on a footing of outward equality in the 'forbidden city' of Peking, long the sacredly secluded centre of an empire locked against the outer world.

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But this increase of European interference in China, with indications of a possible intention to dismember that ancient empire and divide its fragments among the land-hungry nations of the West, was viewed in China with dread and indignation, the feeling of hostility extending to the work of the missionaries, who were probably regarded by many as agents in the movement of invasion.

### THE BOXER OUTBREAK

The hostile sentiment thus developed was indicated early in 1900 by an outbreak of a Chinese secret society known by a name signified in English by the word 'Boxers.' These ultra-patriots organized an anti-missionary crusade in several provinces of North China in which many missionaries and native Christians were killed. The movement extended from the missionary settlements to include the whole foreign population of China, and was evidently encouraged by the dowager empress and her advisers.

As a result the outbreak spread to Peking, where Baron von Ketteler, the German minister, was killed, several of the legation buildings were destroyed, and more than two hundred refugees were besieged within the walls of the British legation. The danger to which the representatives of the foreign Powers and their assistants and families were exposed aroused Europe and America, and as the Chinese Government took no steps to allay the outbreak, a relief expedition was organized, in which British, United States, French, German, Russian, and Japanese forces took part.

The fleet of the allies bombarded and destroyed the Taku forts, and heavy fighting took place at Tien-tsin, Pie-tsang, and Yang-tsun. The military expedition reached Peking and rescued the besieged on August 14th, 1900, the empress and her court fleeing from the capital. A peace treaty was signed on September 7th, 1901, one of the conditions of which



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was that China should pay an indemnity of £65,750,000 to the foreign Powers.

This event, significant of the latent and active hostilities between the East and the West, was followed by a much greater one in 1904-5, when Japan had the hardihood to engage in war with the great European empire of Russia and the unlooked-for ability and good fortune to defeat its powerful antagonist.

### RUSSIAN DESIGNS ON MANCHURIA

The Russo-Japanese War, which takes its place among the great wars of modern times, must be dealt with here, though briefly, for it belongs to European history, partly owing to the fact that a European country was engaged in it, and partly because of the right that Japan then earned to have her say in the affairs of nations. It arose from the encroachments of Russia in the Chinese province of Manchuria, and fears on the part of Japan that the scope of Russian designs might include the invasion and conquest of that country.

As already stated, Russia secured a lease of Port Arthur, at the southern extremity of Manchuria, from China in 1898. Subsequently the Siberian Railway was extended southward from Harbin to this place, the harbour was deepened, and building operations were begun at a new town named Dalny, which was to be made Asia's greatest port. The line of the railway was strongly guarded with Russian troops.

These movements of Russia excited suspicion in Great Britain and Japan, which countries so strongly opposed the military occupation by Russia of Chinese territory that in 1901 Russia agreed to withdraw her troops within the following year, to restore the railway to China, and subsequently to give up all occupation of Chinese territory.

Of these agreements the first alone was kept, and that only temporarily. In 1903 Japan, having in the previous year entered into an alliance with Great Britain, proposed an



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agreement with Russia to the effect that both parties should respect the integrity of China and Korea, while the interest of Japan in Korea and that of Russia in Manchuria should be recognized. The refusal of Russia to accept this proposition overcame the patience of Japan, whose rulers saw clearly that Russia had no intention of withdrawing from the country occupied or of hampering her future designs with agreements. In fact Japan's own independence seemed threatened.

### JAPAN BEGINS WAR ON RUSSIA

The result was in consonance with the Japanese character. In February, 1904, Japan withdrew her minister from the Russian capital, and three days later, without the formality of a declaration of war, attacked the Russian fleets at Chemulpo and Port Arthur. The result was the sinking of two Russian ships in Chemulpo harbour, and the disabling of a number of vessels at Port Arthur.

Troops were landed at the same time. Seoul, the capital of Korea, was occupied, and an army marched north to Ping-Yang. The first land engagement took place on the Yalu on April 30th, the Japanese forces under General Kuroki attacking and defeating the Russians at that point, and making a rapid advance into Manchuria.

Meanwhile Admiral Togo had been busy at Port Arthur. On April 13th he sent boats inshore to plant mines. Makharov, the Russian admiral, followed these boats out until he found Togo awaiting him with a fleet too strong for him to attack. On his return his flag-ship, the *Petropavlovsk*, struck one of the mines and went down with her crew of 600 and Makharov himself. The smaller ships reached harbour in bad shape after their experience of Togo's big guns. On August 10th, the Port Arthur fleet was again roughly handled by the Japanese, and some days later a Vladivostock squadron, steaming southward to reinforce it, was met and defeated.

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This ended the naval warfare for that period, all the ships which Russia had on the Pacific being destroyed or seriously injured.

### THE ARMIES MEET

On land the Japanese made successful movements to the north and south. An army under General Oku landed in the Liao-tung peninsula early in May, cut the railway to Port Arthur, and captured Kin-chau, nearly forty miles from that port. There followed a terrible struggle on the heights of Nan-shan, ending in the repulse of the Russian garrison, with a loss of eighty guns. This success gave the Japanese control of Dalny, which formed for them a new base. General Nogi soon after landed with a strong force and took command of the operations against Port Arthur. The northern army met with similar success, General Kuroki fighting his way to the vicinity of Liao-yang, where he soon had the support of General Nodzu, who had landed an army in May. Oku, marching north from the peninsula, also supported him, the three generals forcing Kuropatkin, the Russian commander-in-chief, back upon his base. Marshal Oyama, a veteran of former wars, was at this time made commander-in-chief of the Japanese armies.

Liao-yang became the seat of one of the greatest battles of the war; it lasted seven days, and the dead and wounded amounted to over 40,000. It ended in the retreat of Kuropatkin's army, who fell back upon the line of defences covering Mukden, the Manchurian capital. Here he was again attacked by Kuroki, who captured the key of the Russian position on the 1st of September, and held it until reinforcements arrived.

For a month the armies faced each other south of Mukden, the period of rest ending in a general advance of the Russian army, which had been largely reinforced. In the battle that followed the Russians lost heavily but failed to break the Japanese lines, and after a fortnight of hard fighting

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both sides desisted from active hostilities, holding their positions with little change.

### PORT ARTHUR TAKEN

Meanwhile Port Arthur had become closely invested. One by one the hills surrounding the harbour were taken by the Japanese, after stubborn resistance. Big siege guns were dragged up and began to batter the town and the ships. On August 19th, General Stoessel, commander at Port Arthur, having refused to surrender, a grand assault was ordered by Nogi. For five days the assault continued, but it proved unsuccessful; the assailants lost 14,000 men, and buildings and ships suffered severely. Finally tunnels were cut through the solid rock, and on December 20th the principal stronghold to the east was carried by storm. Other forts were soon taken, and on January 1st, 1905, Port Arthur was surrendered, the Japanese obtaining 25,000 prisoners, 59 forts, about 550 guns, and other munitions. The fleet captured consisted of four damaged battleships, two damaged cruisers, and a considerable number of smaller craft. The Russian losses in killed and wounded during the siege amounted to over 28,000 men, while those of the Japanese came near the tremendous total of 60,000. The capture, however, set free 100,000 men, who were quickly hurried off to reinforce Marshal Oyama.

We left the armies facing each other at Mukden in late September. They remained there until February, 1905, without again coming into contact, and no decisive action took place until March. Kuropatkin's force had meanwhile been largely reinforced, through the difficult aid of the one-tracked Siberian railway, and was now divided into three armies of approximately 150,000 men each. Oyama now had 500,000 men under his command; these consisted of the armies under Kuroki, Nodzu, and Oku, and the force of Nogi released from before Port Arthur.



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General Grippenberg had command of one of the Russian armies, and on January 25th took position on the left bank of the Hun-ho River. Here, in the month following, he lost 10,000 of his men, and then resigned his post, declaring that his chief had not properly supported him. On January 19th, a Japanese advance in force began, attacking with energy and forcing Kuropatkin to withdraw his centre and left behind the line of the Hun-ho. Here he fiercely attacked Oku and Nogi, for the time checking their advance. But farther along the line the Russians fell into difficulties and it became necessary to retreat, leaving Mukden to the enemy. There were no further engagements of importance between the armies, though they remained face to face for months in a long line south of Harbin. Kuropatkin during this time was relieved from command, Linievitch being appointed to succeed him. The remaining conflict of the war was a naval one, of remarkable character.

### RUSSIAN FLEET DEFEATED

Russia, finding its Pacific fleet put out of commission, and quite unable to face the doughty Togo, had dispatched a second fleet from the Baltic, comprising nearly forty vessels in all. These, after nearly causing complications with Great Britain through opening fire one dark night on some harmless British fishing-smacks in the North Sea, made their way through the Suez Canal and Indian Ocean and moved upward through the Chinese and Japanese Seas, finding themselves on May 27, 1905, in the strait of Tsushima, between Korea and Japan. Hitherto not a hostile vessel had been seen. Togo had held his fleet in ambush, while keeping scouts on the look-out for the Russians.

Suddenly the Russians found themselves surrounded by the enemy. The attack was furious and irresistible; the defence weak and ineffective. Night was at hand, but before it came five Russian warships had gone to the bottom.



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A torpedo attack was made during the night and the general engagement resumed next morning. When a halt was called, Admiral Togo had sunk, disabled, or captured eight battleships, nine cruisers, three coast-defence ships, and a large number of other craft, the great Russian fleet being practically a total loss, while Togo had lost only three torpedo boats and 650 men. The losses in men by the Russians were 4000 killed and 7300 prisoners taken. Altogether it was a naval victory which for completeness has rarely been equalled in history.

Russia, beaten on land and sea, was by this time ready to give up the struggle, and at once accepted President Roosevelt's suggestion to hold a peace convention in the United States. The terms of the treaty were very favourable to Russia, especially in the clause that excused her from paying any indemnity; but the resources of Japan had been strained to the utmost, and that Power felt little inclined to put obstacles in the way. The island of Sakhalin was divided between them, both armies evacuated Manchuria, leaving it to the Chinese, and Port Arthur and Dalny were transferred to Japan. Shortly after the conclusion of peace Japan entered into an arrangement with China by which fifteen towns in Manchuria were declared open for foreign residence and trade.

Yet though Japan received no indemnity and little in the way of material acquisitions of any kind, she came out of the war with a prestige that no one was likely to question, and has since ranked among the Great Powers of the world. And she added considerably to her territory in 1910 by the annexation of Korea, to which there was no one to question her right.

### CHINA BECOMES A REPUBLIC

While Japan was manifesting this progress in the arts of war, China was making as great a progress in the arts of

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peace. The building of railways, telegraphs, modern factories, and the adoption of other western innovations proceeded apace, modern literature and systems of education were introduced, and the old competitive examinations for office, in the Confucian literature and philosophy, were replaced by examinations in modern science and general knowledge. Yet most surprising of all was the great political revolution which converted an autocratic empire which had existed for four or five thousand years into a modern constitutional republic of advanced type. This is surely the most surprising political overturn that history presents.

For many years a spirit of opposition to the Manchu empire had existed and had led more than once to rebellions of great scope. The success of Japan in war was followed in China by a revolutionary movement whose first demand was for a constitutional government, this leading, on September 20th, 1907, to an imperial decree outlining a plan for a National Assembly. On July 22nd, 1908, another decree provided for Provincial Assemblies to serve as a basis for a future parliament, and a few weeks later the government promised to introduce a parliamentary system within nine years.

The idea of such a government spread rapidly throughout the country, and the demand arose for an immediate parliament. In October, 1910, a National Assembly was opened by the regent, but the revolutionary sentiment grew, and in October, 1911, a rebellious movement took place at Wuchang which rapidly spread, the rebels declaring that the Manchu dynasty must be overthrown.

Soon the movement became so threatening that the emperor issued a decree appealing to the mercy of the people, and abjectly acknowledged that the government had done wrong in many particulars. Yuan Shih-kai, a prominent revolutionary statesman, was made Prime Minister, but it had become too late to check the movement, and at the end of 1911 a republic was announced at Nanking, under the

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provisional presidency of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a student of modern institutions in Europe and America. The abdication of the emperor quickly followed, in February, 1912, ending a Manchu dynasty which had held the throne for 267 years. Yuan Shih-kai was later chosen as president for a term of five years.

The republic has a parliament of its own; and besides the president, a Cabinet of ten ministers, and all the official furniture of a republican government. There is only needed an education of the people into the principles of free government 'of the people, for the people, and by the people' to complete the most remarkable political revolution the world has yet known.

It remains to be seen whether China will continue unchecked her political development upon such democratic lines, or whether autocracy, which must still have powerful adherents in an ancient empire, will once more obtain for a time some measure of its old ascendancy.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### TURKEY AND THE BALKAN STATES

#### CHECKING THE DOMINION OF THE TURK IN EUROPE

*The Story of Serbia : Turkey in Europe : The Bulgarian Atrocities : The Defence of Plevna : The Congress of Berlin : Hostile Sentiments in the Balkans : Incitement to War : Fighting begins : The Advance on Adrianople : Victories of the Allies : The Bulgarian Successes : Steps toward Peace : The War resumed : Siege of Scutari : Treaty of Peace : Albania : War between the Allies : The Final Settlement*

IN the south-east of Europe lies a group of minor kingdoms, of little importance in size, but of great importance in the progress of recent events. Their sudden uprising in 1912, their conquest of nearly the whole existing remnant of Turkey in Europe, and the subsequent struggle between them for the spoils of the conquest brought them swiftly into prominence. And they are specially important from the fact that Serbia, one of this group of states, was the ostensible—though, as we have seen, not the actual—cause of the Great European War of 1914.

These, known as the Balkan States, from their being traversed by the Balkan range of mountains, comprise the kingdoms of Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania, the independence of which was declared at the Conference held in London in May, 1913, at the close of the first of the two recent Balkan wars. Roumania is sometimes included in the Balkan States, and Greece is an outlying member of the group.

#### THE STORY OF SERBIA

Of these varied states Serbia is of special interest both from its immediate relation to the European contest and on account of its ancient history. Small though it is to-day, it was once an extensive, if ill-knit, empire. Under its



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emperor, Stevan Doushan (1331-55), it included the whole of Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, Bulgaria, and northern Greece, leaving little of the Balkan region beyond its borders. In 1389 its independence ended as a result of the battle of Kossovo, and it became tributary to the conquering empire of the Turks. In another half-century it became a province of Turkey in Europe, and so remained for nearly two hundred years.

Its succeeding history may be rapidly summarized. In 1718 it was ceded to Austria, with its capital Belgrade, by Turkey, but in 1739 it was handed back. Barbarous treatment of the Christian population of Serbia by its half-civilized rulers led to a series of insurrections, ending in 1812 in its independence, by the terms of the Treaty of Bukarest. The Turks won it back in 1813, but in 1817 under its leader, Milosh, its complete independence was attained.

After the fall of Plevna in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, Serbia joined its forces to those of Russia, and by the Treaty of Berlin it obtained an accession of territory and full recognition by the Powers of Europe of its independence. In 1885 a national rising took place in Eastern Roumelia, a province of Turkey, which led to the Turkish governor being expelled and union with Bulgaria proclaimed. Serbia demanded a share of this new acquisition of territory and went to war with Bulgaria, but met with a severe defeat. When, in 1908, Austria annexed the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the people of Serbia were highly indignant, these provinces being largely inhabited by people of the Serbian race. The exasperation thus caused is of importance, especially as it was augmented by the policy of Austria in thwarting Serbia's efforts to obtain a port on the Adriatic after the Balkan War of 1912-13. The seething feeling of enmity thus engendered had its final outcome in the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand in 1914, and the subsequent invasion of Serbia by Austria.

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We have here spoken of the stages by which Serbia gradually won its independence from Turkey and its recognition as a full-fledged member of the European family of nations. There are several others of the Balkan group which similarly attained their freedom and to the story of which some passing allusion is desirable.

How Greece won its independence has been already told. Another of the group, the diminutive mountain state of Montenegro, much the smallest of them all, has the honour of being the only section of that region of Europe that did not come under Ottoman rule during the long centuries of Turkish domination. Its mountainous character enabled its hardy inhabitants to hold their own against the Turks in a series of deadly struggles. In 1876-8 its ruler, Prince Nicholas, joined in the war of Russia and Serbia against Turkey, the result being that 1900 square miles were added to its territory by the Treaty of Berlin. In 1910 it was changed from a principality into a kingdom, Prince Nicholas gaining the title of King Nicholas. A second acquisition of territory succeeded the Balkan War of 1913, the adjoining Turkish province of Novi-bazar being divided between it and Serbia.

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With this summary of the story of the Balkans we shall proceed to give in more detail its recent history, comprising the wars of 1876-8 and of 1912-13. As for the relations between Turkey and the Balkan peninsula, it is well known how the Asiatic conquerors known as Turks, having subdued Asia Minor, invaded Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, overran most of the Balkan country, and attacked and took Constantinople in 1453, a hundred years later. Serbia, Bosnia, Albania, and Greece were added to the Ottoman empire, which subdued half of Hungary and received its first check on land before the walls of Vienna in

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1529, and on the ocean at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. Vienna was again besieged by the Turks in 1683, and was then saved from capture by Sobieski of Poland and Charles of Lorraine.

This was the end of Turkish advance in Europe. Since then Turkey has been gradually yielding to European assault. Russia beginning its persistent attacks upon her about the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time Turkey occupied a considerable section of southern Russia, but by the end of the century much of this had been regained. In 1812 Russia won that part of Moldavia and Bessarabia which lies on her side of the Pruth, and gained the principal mouth of the Danube, in 1829 being also awarded some islands at the mouth of the river. In the same year she crossed the Balkans and entered Adrianople, and the independence of Greece was acknowledged shortly after.

The next important event in the history of Turkey in Europe was the Crimean War, the story of which has been told in an earlier chapter. Among its results were a weakening of Russian influence in Turkey, the abolition of the Russian protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia (united in 1861 as the principality of Roumania), and the cession to Turkey of part of Bessarabia.

Turkey also came out of the Crimean War weakened and shorn of territory. But the Turkish idea of government remained unchanged, and in twenty years' time Russia was goaded into another war. In 1875 a serious rising took place in Herzegovina, and Bosnia too rebelled in consequence of the insufferable oppression of the Turkish tax-collectors. The brave Bosnians maintained themselves so sturdily in their mountain fastnesses that the Turks almost despaired of subduing them, and the Christian subjects of the Sultan in all quarters became so stirred up that a general revolt was threatened.





BRITISH POST OFFICE AT WORK IN FRANCE

*Photo Alfieri*





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## THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES

The Turks undertook to prevent this in their usual fashion. Irregular troops were sent into Christian Bulgaria with orders to kill all they met. It was an order of the traditional Turkish kind. The defenceless villages of Bulgaria were entered and their inhabitants slaughtered in cold blood till thousands of men, women, and children had been slain.

When tidings of these atrocities reached Europe the nations were filled with horror. The Sultan made smooth excuses, and diplomacy sought to settle the affair, but it became evident that a massacre so terrible as this could not be condoned so easily. The whole of England, with Disraeli at its head as Prime Minister, at first disbelieved the stories that were in the air; and when their truth in all its terrible reality was proved beyond doubt Disraeli found himself in a difficult position. The fear lest, if he allied himself with the other Powers against Turkey, Russia would gain vast accessions of power and territory in the Near East at first kept him inactive; but Gladstone, at that time in retirement, arose in his might, and by his pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Atrocities" so aroused public sentiment in England that the government dared not back up Turkey in the coming war. His denunciation rang through England like a trumpet-call. "Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—by carrying off themselves," he wrote. "Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, will, I hope, be cleared from the province they have desolated and profaned."

He followed up this pamphlet by a series of speeches, delivered to great meetings and to the House of Commons, with which for four years he sought, as he expressed it, "night and day to counterwork the purpose" of Disraeli, who by now had become Lord Beaconsfield. He succeeded,

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and England was prevented by his eloquence from joining the Turks in the war.

Hostilities were soon proclaimed. The Russians, of the same race and religion as the Bulgarians, were excited beyond control, and in April, 1877, Alexander II declared war against Turkey. The outrages of the Turks had been so flagrant that no allies came to their aid, while the rottenness of their empire was shown by the rapid advance of the Russian armies. The latter crossed the Danube in June. A month later they had occupied the principal mountain passes of the Balkans and were in position to descend on the broad plain that led to Constantinople. But at this point in their career they met with a serious check. Osman Pasha, the single Turkish commander of ability that the war developed, occupied the town of Plevna with a force of 50,000 men, fortified it as strongly as possible, and from its walls defied the Russians.

### THE DEFENCE OF PLEVNA

The invaders dared not advance and leave this stronghold in their rear. For nearly five months all the power of Russia and the skill of its generals were held in check by Osman Pasha, until Europe and America alike looked on with admiration at his remarkable defence, and the cause of the war was almost forgotten. The Russian general Krüdener was repulsed with the loss of 8000 men. The daring Skobelev strove in vain to throw his troops over Osman's walls. At length General Todleben undertook the siege, adopting the slow but safe method of starving out the defenders. Osman Pasha now showed his courage, as he had already shown his endurance. When hunger and disease began to reduce the strength of his men he resolved on a final desperate effort. At the head of his brave garrison the 'Lion of Plevna' sallied from the city, and fought with desperate courage to break through the circle of his foes. On December 10th

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he was finally driven back into the city and compelled to surrender.

Osman had won glory, but his fall was the fall of the Turkish cause. The Russians crossed the Balkans, capturing in the Shipka Pass a Turkish army of 30,000 men. Adrianople was taken on January 20th, 1878, and the Turkish line of retreat cut off. The Russians marched to the Bosphorus, and the Sultan was compelled to sue for peace to save his capital from falling into the hands of the Christians, as it had fallen into those of the Turks four centuries before.

Russia had won the game for which she had made so long a struggle. The treaty of San Stefano, which concluded it, practically decreed the dissolution of the Turkish empire. But at this juncture the other nations of Europe, who could not stand aside and see the balance of power destroyed by Russia becoming master of Constantinople, stepped in, and England demanded that the treaty should be revised by the Powers. Russia protested, but Disraeli threatened war, and the Tsar gave way.

### THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

The Congress of Berlin, to which the treaty was referred, settled the question in the following manner: Montenegro, Roumania, and Serbia were declared independent, and Bulgaria became free, except that it had to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan. She gained some accession of territory, but the part of old Bulgaria that lay south of the Balkan Mountains was, under the name Eastern Roumelia, left under the military control of Turkey, but given its own civil government. Bosnia and Herzegovina were left to Turkey, but under the military control of Austria. All that Russia obtained were some provinces in Asia Minor, and some Bessarabian territory from Roumania. Turkey was terribly shorn, and since then her power has been further reduced,



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for in 1885 Eastern Roumelia broke loose from her control and united herself again to Bulgaria.

Another twenty years passed, and Turkey found itself at war again. It was the old story, the oppression of the Christians. This time the trouble began in Armenia, a part of Turkey in Asia, where in 1895 and 1896 terrible massacres took place. Germany, on the look-out for fresh spheres of influence and concessions from the Sultan, actually supported Turkey, but with this one inglorious exception indignation reigned in the whole of Europe; fears of a general war, however, kept the Powers from using force, and the Sultan's promises of reform were not kept.

In 1896 the Christians of the island of Crete broke out in revolt against the oppression and tyranny of Turkish rule. Of all the Powers of Europe little Greece was the only one that came to their aid, and the great nations, still inspired with the fear of a general war, sent their fleet and threatened Greece with blockade unless she would withdraw her troops. The result was one scarcely expected. The ruler of neither country was wishful for war, but the Sultan was egged on by Germany, while the popular feeling in Greece ran so high against Turkey that King George found himself carried off his feet. He probably thought that at the eleventh hour the Powers would step in and prevent a conflict, but this did not happen till his country was beaten to her knees. Greece gathered a threatening army on the frontier of Turkey, and war broke out in 1897 between the two states.

The Turks, now under an able commander, showed much of their ancient valour and intrepidity, crossing the frontier, defeating the Greeks in a rapid series of engagements, and occupying Thessaly, while the Greek army was driven back in a state of utter demoralization. At this juncture, when Greece lay at the mercy of Turkey, as Turkey had lain at that of Russia twenty years before, the Powers intervened to save her from ruin. Turkey was bidden to call a halt,

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and the Sultan reluctantly stopped the march of his army. He demanded the whole of Thessaly and a large indemnity in money. The former the Powers refused to grant, and they reduced the indemnity to £3,600,000, at the same time putting the finances of Greece under European control. Thus the affair ended, and such, so far as was apparent, was the position of the Eastern Question until the hatred of the Balkan States again leaped into flame in the memorable Balkan War of 1912.

### HOSTILE SENTIMENTS OF THE BALKANS

As may be seen from what has been said, the sentiment of hostility between the Christian States of the Balkan region and the Mohammedan empire of Turkey was not likely to be easily allayed. The atrocities of persecution which the Christians had suffered at the hands of the Turks were unforgotten and unavenged, and to them was added an ambitious desire to widen their dominions at the expense of Turkey, if possible to drive Turkey completely out of Europe and extend their areas of control to the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus. These states consisted of Serbia, made an autonomous principality in 1830, an independent principality in 1878, and a kingdom in 1882; Bulgaria, an autonomous principality in 1878, an independent kingdom in 1908; Montenegro, an independent principality in 1878, a kingdom in 1910; and Eastern Roumelia, autonomous in 1878, annexed to Bulgaria in 1885. Roumania, an autonomous principality in 1802, an independent principality in 1878, a kingdom in 1881, is not, strictly speaking, one of the Balkan States, but is often treated as such. Adjoining these on the south was Greece, an independent kingdom since 1830. The former provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been assigned to Austrian administrative control in 1878, and were annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908, an act which added to the feeling of unrest in the Balkans.

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The relations existing between the Balkan States and their neighbours was one of dissatisfaction and hostility which might at any time break into war, this being especially the case with those which bordered directly upon Turkey—Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece. As regards the reasons impelling Greece to take an active part in the war, it must be remembered that the great majority of Greeks still lived under the Turkish flag, while the twelve islands in the Ægean Sea seized by Italy during its war with Turkey were clamouring to be annexed to Greece instead of being returned to Turkey by the treaty of peace between Italy and Turkey. Roumania, besides being not actually a member of the group, was removed from contact, and had less occasion to entertain warlike sentiments.

### INCITEMENT TO WAR

A fitting time for this indignation and hostile feeling to break out into war came in 1912, at the close of the Turco-Italian war, which resulted in the conquest of Tripoli by Italy. This war, settled by a protocol in favour of Italy on October 15th, 1912, had caused financial losses and political unrest in Turkey which offered a promising opportunity for the states to carry into effect their long-cherished design. By the middle of 1912 the Greek premier had succeeded in bringing about an alliance between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro; and in September Turkey gave the necessary excuse for war by her persistent refusal to execute the reforms in Macedonia that she had so often promised. Mobilization in the Balkans was complete by the end of September, and on October 8th Montenegro declared war on the common enemy. Turkey replied on the 17th by declaring war on Serbia and Bulgaria, and on the same day Greece joined in, sending her ultimatum to Constantinople. But acts of war did not wait for a formal declaration. On October 5th, King Peter of Serbia thus explained to the



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National Assembly of that state his reasons for mobilizing his troops :

“ I have applied with friendly counsels to Constantinople regarding the misery which the Christian nationalities, including ours, are suffering in Turkey, and it is to be regretted that all this was of no avail. Instead of the expected reforms we were surprised a few days ago by the mobilization of the Turkish army near our frontiers. To this act, by which our safety was endangered, Serbia had only one reply. By my decree our army was put into a mobile state.

“ Our position is clear. Our duty is to undertake measures insuring our safety. It is our duty, in conformity with other Christian Balkan States, to do everything in our power to insure proper conditions for a real and permanent peace in the Balkans.”

The first raid into Turkish territory was made by the Bulgarian bandit Sandansky, who in 1902 had kidnapped Miss Ellen M. Stone, an American missionary, and held her for a ransom of £13,000 to furnish funds for his campaign. At the head of a band of 2500 Bulgarians he crossed the frontier and burned the Turkish blockhouse at Oschumava, afterward occupying a strategic position above the Struma River.

### FIGHTING BEGINS

The Montenegrin army opened the war on October 9th, by attacking a strong Turkish position opposite Podgoritza, Franz Peter, the youngest son of King Nicholas, firing the first shot. Bulgaria, without waiting to declare war, crossed the frontier on October 14th and made a sharp attack on the railway patrols between Sofia and Uskub. Sharp fighting at the same time took place on the Greek frontier, the Greeks capturing Maluna Pass, the chief mountain pass leading from Greece to Turkey.

The war developed with great rapidity, a number of



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important battles being fought, in which the Turks were defeated. The military strength of the combined states exceeded that of Turkey, and within a month's time they made rapid advances, the goals being Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonica, and Scutari.

### THE ADVANCE ON ADRIANOPOLE

The most important of the Balkan movements was that of the Bulgarian army upon Adrianople, the second to Constantinople in importance of Turkish cities. By October 20th the Bulgarian main army had forced the Turks back upon the outward forts of this stronghold, while the left wing threatened the important post of Kirk-Kilisse, in Thrace, about thirty miles north-east of Adrianople. This place, regarded as 'the Key to Adrianople,' was taken on the 24th, after a three days' fight, the Turkish forces, said to be 150,000 strong, retiring in disorder.

The Bulgarians continued their advance, fighting over a wide semicircular area before Adrianople, upon which city they gradually closed, taking some of the outer forts and making their bombardment felt within the city itself.

### VICTORIES OF THE ALLIES

While the Bulgarians were making such vigorous advances toward the capital of the Turkish empire, their allies were winning victories in other quarters. Novi-bazar, capital of the sanjak, or province, of the same name, was taken by the Serbians on October 23rd, after a hard-fought battle at Kumanovo, where the Turks were completely routed. Other important towns of Old Serbia were taken, including Uskub, the capital of the ancient Serbian empire, captured on the 26th, and Istib, 45 miles to the south-west, occupied without opposition on the following day. This place, a very strong natural position in the mountains, was known as the Adrianople of Macedonia. The victors were everywhere

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received by the citizens with demonstrations of joy ; tobacco and refreshments were pressed upon the soldiers, while the people put all their possessions at the disposal of the military authorities.

The Greeks were also successful, an army under the Crown Prince capturing the town of Ellassona, on the frontier of Thessaly and Macedonia, on October 20th. Marching northward they defeated the Turks at Kosani on the 26th, took Veria three days later, and on November 2nd inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy at Yenidje. Partly owing to this, and partly to the threat from another Greek division to the south the important town of Salonica was surrendered on the 8th.

Another Greek army meanwhile took Nicopolis and other places in the Epirus, and before long shut up a large Turkish force in Janina, which capitulated early in March, 1913.

Montenegro, in the meantime, was winning many successes, but from about the middle of October her army had been besieging Scutari, the capture of which they regarded as of high importance as a means of widening the area of their narrow kingdom.

### THE BULGARIAN SUCCESSES

While these movements were taking place in the west, the siege of Adrianople was vigorously pushed. It was completely surrounded by Bulgarian troops by the beginning of November, and its commander was formally summoned to surrender the city. The summons, of course, was not complied with, and the besiegers had great difficulties to overcome, the country around being inundated by the rivers Maritza and Arda in consequence of heavy rains. These floods at the same time impeded the movements of the Turks. On November 2nd, after another three-days' fight, the Bulgarians achieved the great success of the war, defeating a Turkish army of 200,000 men.

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✓ Apparently the Turks had been completely outmanœuvred by Savoff's generalship, but the Turkish commander was induced by a Bulgarian turning movement along the Black Sea coast to throw his main army to the eastward, with such effect that the Bulgarian force on this side had the greatest difficulty in holding the Turks in check. The Bulgarians gave way, and enabled Nazim Pasha to report to Constantinople some success in this direction. In the meantime, ✓ however, General Savoff hurled his great strength against the Turks' weakened left wing, which he crushed in at Lule Burgas. The fighting along the whole front, which was of the most stubborn and determined character, was carried on day and night without intermission, and both sides lost heavily.

The final result was to force the Turks within the defensive lines of Tchatalja, the only remaining fortified position protecting Constantinople. These lines lie twenty-five miles to the north-west of the capital.

Less than a month had passed since war had been declared. The first week of the campaign closed with the dramatic fall of Kirk-Kilisse, fully revealing for the first time the disorganization, bad morale, and inefficient commissariat of the Turkish army. Ten days later that army was defeated and routed, within fifty miles of Constantinople.

The seat of war between Bulgaria and Turkey, apart from the continued siege of Adrianople, was by this success transferred to the Tchatalja lines, along which the opposing armies lay stretched during the week succeeding the Lule Burgas victory. Here siege operations were vigorously prosecuted, but the Turks, though weakened by an outbreak of cholera in their ranks, succeeded in maintaining their position.

### STEPS TOWARD PEACE

Elsewhere victory followed the banners of the allies. We have seen that on November 8th the important port of

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Salonica was taken by the Greeks : on the 18th the Serbians captured Monastir, the remaining Turkish stronghold in Macedonia. The fighting here was desperate, lasting three days, the Turkish losses amounting to about 20,000 men. In Albania the Montenegrin siege of Scutari continued, though so far without success.

Turkey had now had enough of the war. On November 3rd, 1912, she had asked a mediation of the Powers, but these replied that she must treat directly with the Balkan nations. This caused delay until the end of the month, the protocol of an armistice being approved by the Turkish Cabinet on November 30th, and signed by representatives of Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro on December 3rd. Greece refused to sign, but at a later date agreed to take part in a conference to meet in London on December 16th.

This peace conference continued in session until January 6th, 1913, without reaching any conclusions, Turkey refusing to accept the Balkan demands that she should yield practically the whole of her territory in Europe. At the final session of the conference she renounced her claim to the suzerainty of the island of Crete, (which went definitely to Greece), and promised to rectify her Thracian frontier, but insisted upon the retention of Adrianople. This place, the original capital of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and containing the splendid mosque of Sultan Selim, was highly esteemed by the Mohammedans, who clung to it as a sacred city.

War seemed likely to be resumed, though the European Powers strongly suggested to Turkey the advisability of yielding on this point, and leaving the question of the fate of the Ægean Islands to the Powers, which promised also to guard Mussulman interests in Adrianople. Finally, on January 22nd, 1913, the Porte consented to this request of the Powers, a decision which was vigorously resented by the warlike party known as Young Turks.

Demonstrations at once broke out in Constantinople, leading



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to the overthrow of the Cabinet and the murder of Nazim Pasha, former Minister of War and commander-in-chief of the Turkish army. He was succeeded by Enver Bey, the most spirited leader of the Young Turks, who became chief of staff of the army.

On January 30th the Balkan allies denounced their armistice and a renewed war seemed imminent. On the same day the Ottoman Government offered a compromise, agreeing to divide Adrianople between the contestants in such a way that they themselves might retain the mosques and the historic monuments.

### THE WAR RESUMED

To this compromise the Balkan allies refused to agree, and on February 3rd hostile operations were resumed. The investment of Adrianople had remained intact during the interval, and on the 5th a vigorous bombardment took place, the Turkish response being weak. Forty Serbian seven-inch guns had been mounted, and their shells fell into the town, part of which broke into flames. At points the lines of besiegers and besieged were only 200 yards apart. An energetic attack was made by the Bulgarians and Serbs on March 14th, ending in a repulse, and on the 22nd another vigorous assault was begun, continuing with terrific fighting for four days. It ended in a surrender of the city on the 26th. The siege had continued for 152 days. Before yielding the Turks blew up the arsenal and set fire to the city at several points. At the same time Tchatalja, which had been actively assailed, fell into the hands of the allies and Constantinople lay open to assault.

### SIEGE OF SCUTARI

In the west the operations against Scutari by the Montenegrins, led by King Nicholas in person, still went on. Serbian artillery aided in the assault, but the city was not

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captured until April 25th, when an entire day's ceaseless fighting ended in the yielding of the garrison, the climax of a six-month siege.

Meanwhile the Powers of Europe had again offered their good services to mediate between the warring forces, and a conditional mediation was agreed to by the Balkan allies. Movements toward peace, however, proceeded slowly, the most interesting event of the period being a demand by Austria, backed by Italy, that Montenegro should give up the city of Scutari. Earnest protests were made against this by King Nicholas, but the dispatch of an Austrian naval division on April 27th to occupy his ports and march upon Cettinje, his capital, obliged him reluctantly to yield, and on May 5th Scutari was given up to Austria, to form part of a projected Albanian kingdom.

### TREATY OF PEACE

Peace between the warring nations was finally concluded on May 30th, 1913, the treaty providing that Turkey should cede to her allied foes all territory west of a line drawn from Enos on the *Ægean* coast to Midia on the coast of the Black Sea. This gave Adrianople to the Bulgarians and left Turkey with only a narrow strip of territory west of Constantinople, the meagre remnant of her once great holdings upon the continent of Europe. The victors desired to divide the conquered territory upon a plan arranged between them before the war, but the purposes of Austria and Italy were out of agreement with this design and the Powers insisted on forming out of the districts assigned to Serbia and Greece a new principality to be named Albania, embracing the region occupied by the unruly Albanian tribes.

This plan gave intense dissatisfaction to the allies. It seemed designed to cut off Serbia from an opening upon the Mediterranean, which that inland state ardently desired and Austria strongly opposed. Montenegro was also

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deprived of the long coveted city of Scutari, which she had won after so vigorous a strife. Bulgaria also was dissatisfied and opposed the demands of Serbia and Greece for compensation in land, either for the loss of Albania or for their support of the Bulgarian operations.

### ALBANIA

The creation of Albania, or—to speak more correctly—the revival in a modified form of an ancient kingdom, was the logical outcome of the success of the Balkan States. Among the numerous charges laid by the allied states at the Sultan's feet before the commencement of war was his misrule of Albania and his total inability to cope with the frequent risings that took place in that corner of his dominions. Since 1479 Albania had been under Turkish rule, but before that date she had been an independent kingdom governed by her own native kings.

At the close of the wars of 1912–13 it was decreed by the Powers that what was left of Albania after Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro had been awarded portions (*viz.*, about 10,000 square miles, its western boundary washed by the waters of the Adriatic) should be constituted an independent principality. An International Commission of Control was instituted to look after its civil and financial administration, and early in 1914 the new throne was accepted by a German major, Prince William of Wied.

Unrest, however, has been the lot of Albania ever since, caused mainly by the divergent ideas and wishes of her Greek and Turkish population. In July the prince was besieged in his capital, Durazzo, and had to be rescued by Austrian and Italian warships; his position was becoming more and more impossible, and in the first week of September he quitted his principality in an Italian government steamer. Thus ended the latest attempt of Germany to supply the world with rulers; the International Commission has, so

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far as is possible, taken over control, but a provisional government was formed in October, with Essad Pasha, a leading native chief, as its president; and until matters of greater consequence on the continent of Europe are settled it is impossible to say what will be the fate of this turbulent little principality.

### WAR BETWEEN THE ALLIES

The immediate result of the creation of this state in 1913 was to rouse hostilities anew among the Balkan allies, which speedily flung them into a fresh war. Bulgaria refused to yield any of the territory held by it to the Serbians and Greeks, and Greece in consequence made a secret league with Serbia against Bulgaria.

It was the old story of a fight over the division of the spoils. It is doubtful which of the contestants began hostile operations, but Bulgaria lost no time in marching upon Salonica, held by Greece, though it had been captured by the Bulgarians, and in attacking the Greek and Serbian outposts in Macedonia. The plans of General Savoff, who had led the Bulgarians to victory in the late war and who commanded in this new outbreak, in some way fell into the hands of the Greeks and gave them an important advantage. They at once, in conjunction with the Serbians, attacked the Bulgarians and drove them back. From the accounts of the war, probably exaggerated, this struggle was accompanied by revolting barbarities upon the inhabitants of the country invaded, each country accusing the other of shameful indignities.

What would have been the result of the war, if fought out between the original contestants, it is impossible to say, for at this juncture, another state, which had taken no part in the Turkish war, came into the field. This was Roumania, lying north of Bulgaria and removed from any contact with Turkey. It had had a quarrel with Bulgaria, dating back



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to 1878, concerning certain territory to which it laid claim. This was a strip of land on the south side of the Danube near its mouth and containing Silistria and some other cities.

### THE FINAL SETTLEMENT

King Carol of Roumania now took the opportunity to demand this territory, and when his demand was refused by Ferdinand of Bulgaria he marched an army across the Danube and took the Bulgarians, exhausted by their recent struggle, in the rear. No battles were fought. The Roumanian army advanced until within thirty miles of Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, and Ferdinand was obliged to appeal for peace, and in the subsequent treaty yielded to Roumania the tract desired, which served to round off its frontier on the Black Sea.

Another unexpected event took place. While her late foes were struggling in a war of their own, Turkey, despite the protests of the Powers, quietly stepped into the arena, and, on July 22nd, regained possession, without opposition, of Adrianople, Bulgaria's great prize in the late war.

A peace conference was held at Bukarest, the capital of Roumania, beginning July 26th, and it framed a treaty, signed on August 7th, 1913. This provided for the evacuation of Bulgaria by the invading armies, and also for a division of the conquered territory. Bulgaria gained the largest amount of territory, though less than she had claimed. Greece retained the important seaport of Salonica, the possession of which had been hotly disputed, and gained the largest sea front. Montenegro, though deprived of the much coveted Scutari, was assigned part of northern Albania and the Turkish sanjak of Novi-bazar adjoining on the east, her diminutive territory being thus considerably increased. Serbia had most reason to be dissatisfied with the result, in view of her craving for an opening to the sea. Cut off by



KURDISH RECRUITS FOR THE TURKISH ARMY

*Photo Underwood and Underwood, London*



## TURKEY AND THE BALKAN STATES

Albania on the west, it sought an opening on the south, demanding the city of Kavala, on the Ægean Sea. But to this Greece strongly objected, as that city, one of the great tobacco marts of the world, was inhabited almost wholly by Greeks. Serbia, however, extended southward far over its old territory, gaining Uskub, its old capital. And the Powers also agreed that it should have commercial rights on the Mediterranean, through railway connection with Salonica.

In these wars it is estimated that 358,000 persons lost their lives, and that the cost of the two wars, to the several nations involved, reached a total of £250,000,000.

As regards Turkey's shrewd advantage of the opportunity to retake Adrianople, it proved a successful move. The Russian press strongly advocated that the Turks should be ejected, but the jealousy of the Powers prevented any agreement as to who should do this and in the end the Turks remained, with a considerable widening of the tract of land before assigned to them.

It would seem, however, that the respite obtained by Turkey will prove to be a temporary measure, and it is more than probable that one result of the Great War, in which Turkey so foolishly took a part at the bidding of Germany, will be that final expulsion of the Turk from Europe—'bag and baggage,' as Gladstone's time-honoured phrase runs—which has been so long desired by her neighbours, if not, indeed, by the whole of Christendom.



## CHAPTER XXIV

### LOOKING TO THE END OF THE WAR

A POSTSCRIPT BY EDEN PHILLPOTTS

*Germany's Insensate Ambition : The Great German Illusion : The Break-down of Common Sense : Bedlam in Europe : The Remedy for the Disease : When the End comes*

IF ever a monarch embraced within his own diathesis the very genius of his country at the particular moment when he ruled it, that monarch is William II of Germany. And to this accident he owes the extraordinary affection and esteem in which his subjects hold him. For together, the Kaiser and the Fatherland, over a period of half a century, have slowly, but steadily, attained to the convictions which produce their present appalling situation. They cannot, however, fall together, since while a monarch or a monarchy is mortal, the State is not.

That he was influenced by the trend of thought and prevalent ambitions; that the atmosphere which he breathed after the Franco-Prussian War went far to form the Kaiser's character, is most certain. Once free of restraining influences and the genius which created existing Germany, he launched forth on his own adventure, with none to show him the sequel, none to manifest that, instead of building on the foundations so securely laid, he was about to undermine them.

#### GERMANY'S INSENSATE AMBITION

Germany has long rejoiced in her might, and a period of intoxicating success has obscured her intellectual outlook and blunted her spiritual perception. But a sated man's brain is never at its best, and a sated nation stands in danger. She drank too deeply at the wells of her own ambition; her immense energy and abundant genius were poured into material channels, and a patriotism vital to all nations became, in her case, vitiated by a parochial selfishness, which

## LOOKING TO THE END OF THE WAR

lost count of humanity's larger welfare, and became concentrated upon that of herself alone. To be concerned only with her own prosperity was natural to a nation newly consolidated, a nation without humour and without any world-wide experience of other kingdoms, their aims, aspirations, and needs; but to underrate the power of those kingdoms, to assume without reason their decay and obsolescence, to instil contempt for them in her rising generation, to believe they envied her, to imagine that her turn had come to dominate civilization and impose her own vigorous, but provincial culture upon the whole earth—this was not in reason; it was an attitude so bigoted and so fanatic that it can only be described as pathological.

The Kaiser exhibits the very spirit of modern Germany in his own restless, versatile, self-conscious, and egoistic person. A child of the dynasty from which he springs, he echoes the megalomania of his nation, speaks with its voice, reverberates its convictions, exhibits all its active and acute danger-signals of temporary aberration.

### THE GREAT GERMAN ILLUSION

At present Germany is absolutely ignorant of the disease from which she suffers. An illusion more profound and fatal than ever attacked any kingdom of earth has fastened upon this magnificent people, and not a living physician of their own blood stands up and proclaims their malady; not a living surgeon has spoken or announced by what heroic operation they may be saved. Their mighty dead had, perhaps, rescued them; but among their mighty living there is none immune from the universal ailment. The shrewdest, the wisest, the most far-seeing have succumbed to the epidemic, and if in Germany to-day there exist responsible men who perceive the significance of her calature, they dare not voice their discovery or declare the nature of her peril. The time is, however, at hand when from the

## THE NATIONS AT WAR

mouths of their babes and sucklings they will hear the truth. It would be interesting to trace the steps by which Germany reached her sense of will to power, and to find how a race so earnest, so high-minded, so romantic, the mother of great poets and profound philosophy, has fallen from her old ideals, turned a deaf ear to the cry of universal humanity, sought to prey upon the wider civilization, and so poisoned the fountains of her own destiny. It will also be vital to learn how far her jealousies and grievances are just, and to what extent Europe has stood between her and her reasonable ambitions ; but such a survey must occupy the genius and synthetic power of historians to come. For the moment one can only appreciate the results of this downfall and consider how Civilization, exemplified in her ultimate conquerors, will deal with her disease.

### THE BREAKDOWN OF COMMON SENSE

For the dementia is visible at every turn in the actual conduct of the war and the negotiations that led up to it. Even to a layman, unskilled in strategy or the subterranean methods of Chancelleries, the breakdown of simple common sense may be regarded as a most impressive symptom. For example, could Germany imagine that England would tolerate, without protest, her broken oath to Belgium, or see her in that country ? To pretend, as her apologists do, that we left her in doubt of our intentions is absurd. There was never a doubt. Unless we wanted to commit suicide, there could have been no doubt in the mind of a sane Germany that England would fight if she set foot in Belgium on any pretext whatever. She may have judged us by herself so far as the scrap of paper was concerned ; but apart from that, she knew as well as we did, what the neutrality of Belgium meant to our own existence. Only madness could explain real ignorance on that point. Again, if she honestly feared aggression and wanted to do no more



## LOOKING TO THE END OF THE WAR

than protect herself against the threatened attacks of France and Russia, why did she not keep her armies within her own boundaries and so prove her good faith to the world? Had she done that, there would have been no war, for neither Russia nor France would have invaded her.

To bluff on these questions is not sane, for credence would argue a mental weakness in her adversaries, which, if not herself unbalanced, she would know never existed.

Again, her 'frightfulness' is a theory of attack which has no more practical value in winning a war than those ugly faces the Chinese warrior was wont to pull at his enemy. Does the wasp which stings us secure the prosperity of her nest? Rather she only increases our determination to seek it out and destroy it.

### BEDLAM IN EUROPE

Her wise men have spoken with no uncertain voice of her own intentions in the event of victory; they have sketched the Europe that she designs to establish under her lordship and dominion; and their sketch is as insane as any painted by a Bedlam lunatic. It belongs to the madness of the moment, and in the awful event of her victory, there can now be no shadow of doubt that she would impose her insanity upon the whole earth, sweep away all that for which human genius has fought since the Renaissance, and, by a mighty autocracy, won with the sword and preserved with the sword, throw progress back for centuries and sow the seed of innumerable future strifes. Her success must have filled the cup of man's despair; her failure awakens a note of universal thankfulness that will swell to the mightiest triumph-song this earth has known.

### THE REMEDY FOR THE DISEASE

And what can open Germany's eyes to her sickness? Will defeat cure her malady? Is it possible to imagine such terms



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of peace as shall at once be just to those who have suffered from her insanity and illuminating to her own darkness? Is it within the power of Europe to bring Germany to such a pass that she shall thank her sister nations for her salvation? Can we point out to her the path that her own mania has obscured, cleanse the fountains of her august destiny, and set her feet firm upon a narrower, nobler way than she has trodden since her present monarch ascended the throne? Can we sound a new music in her ear and make her confess of her own free will that the thunder of the Prussian drums was luring her to ruin? To consider how a German would comment on such a question—to imagine a Bernhardi or a Chamberlain, a Eucken or a Haeckel faced with it, is to measure the tremendous difficulty before those who will frame and administer the terms of peace. Even granted that no profound complications, no ruinous conflicting interests will face the Allies themselves—a probability far brighter now that Turkey (under the pathological conditions induced by the Young Turks) has offered her neck to the noose—even granted that Germany's own future is the only problem for solution, how terrific that problem would appear! One thing alone is fundamental: she must be left in no condition after this war to lift any voice in the terms of peace. She must be reduced to the powerlessness of the patient whose life by a miracle has been saved. In her ultimate exhaustion, when her sickness, diagnosed too late to save Europe and herself, has run its course; when she lies past the crisis, capable of recovery, of convalescence, of restored health, it behoves her surgeons—they who have fought with her and conquered her, not those who have looked on—to keep her in the strait-waistcoat and confine her within the padded room till all danger be past. That is a duty they owe to her and the world.

## LOOKING TO THE END OF THE WAR

### WHEN THE END COMES

And when the wings of healing are opened above her, when the scales have fallen from her eyes, the fever-skin peeled from her body, is it too much to hope that she will see a little of the awful evil that she has done in her fury and measure the vileness of her methods and the scope of her dishonour and the depth of her unfaith? She will find no England above all, no France above all, no Russia above all, but a comity of nations inspired with the enthusiasm of humanity; and she will learn that now, as ever, Germany's genius is welcome in the world and debarred from no right or privilege of civilization.

Gleaning from history the power latent in a beaten nation and the salvation implicit in defeat, I would make harder terms with Germany than are likely to be made; and I would impose upon her such necessities that never again should it be within her reach to convulse the world, or play havoc with her own enormous significance in mundane affairs; but, for the rest, above all things, I would strive to preserve her self-respect in this disillusionment, welcome her again, whole in her right mind, to the councils of men, take awful note from her of the dangers which lie in the path of the mightiest, and remember that it is only the crown of the mountains that the lightning strikes.

*Chapter XXIV is reprinted from the "Daily Chronicle," where it appeared under the title "Those that sit in Darkness."*

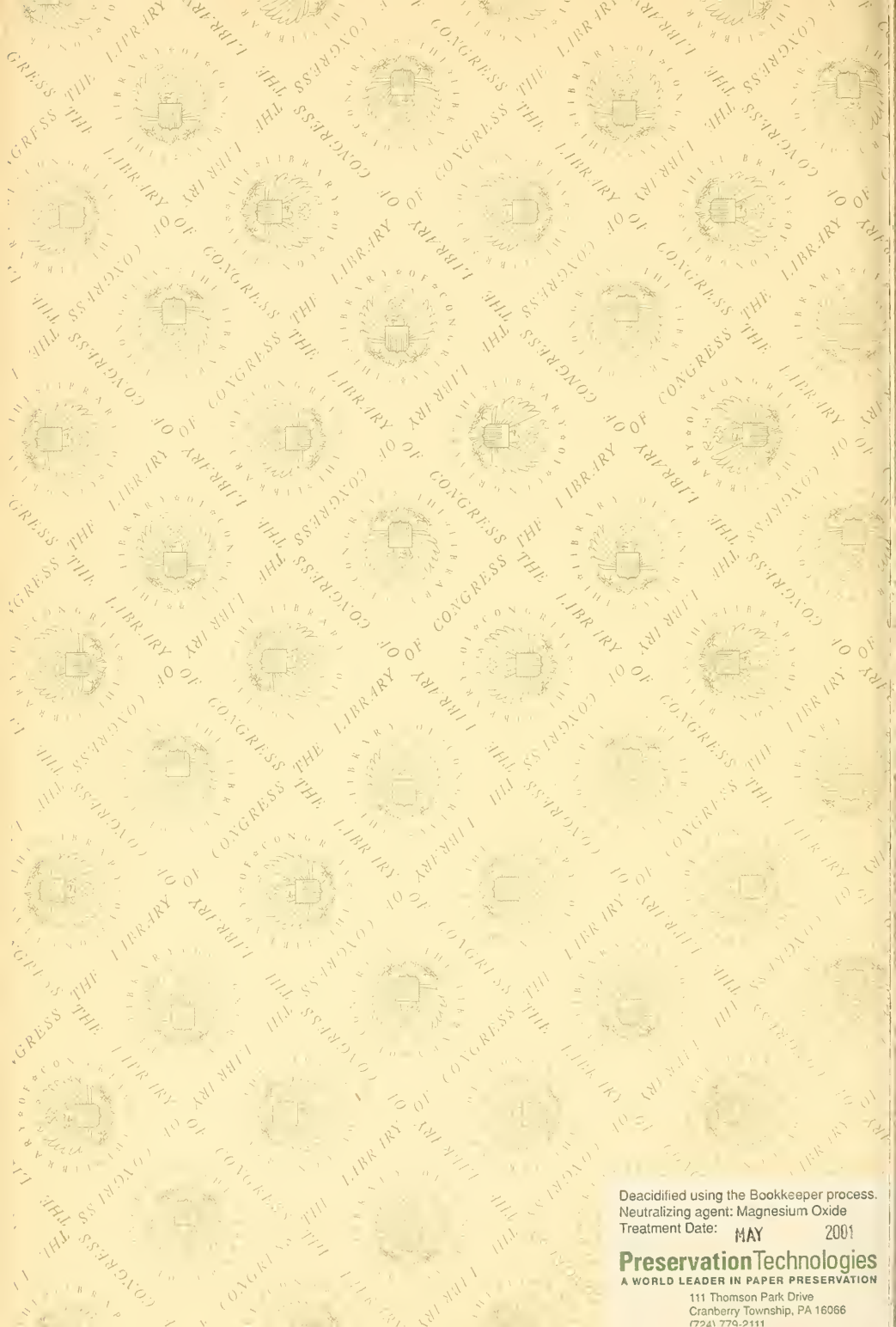
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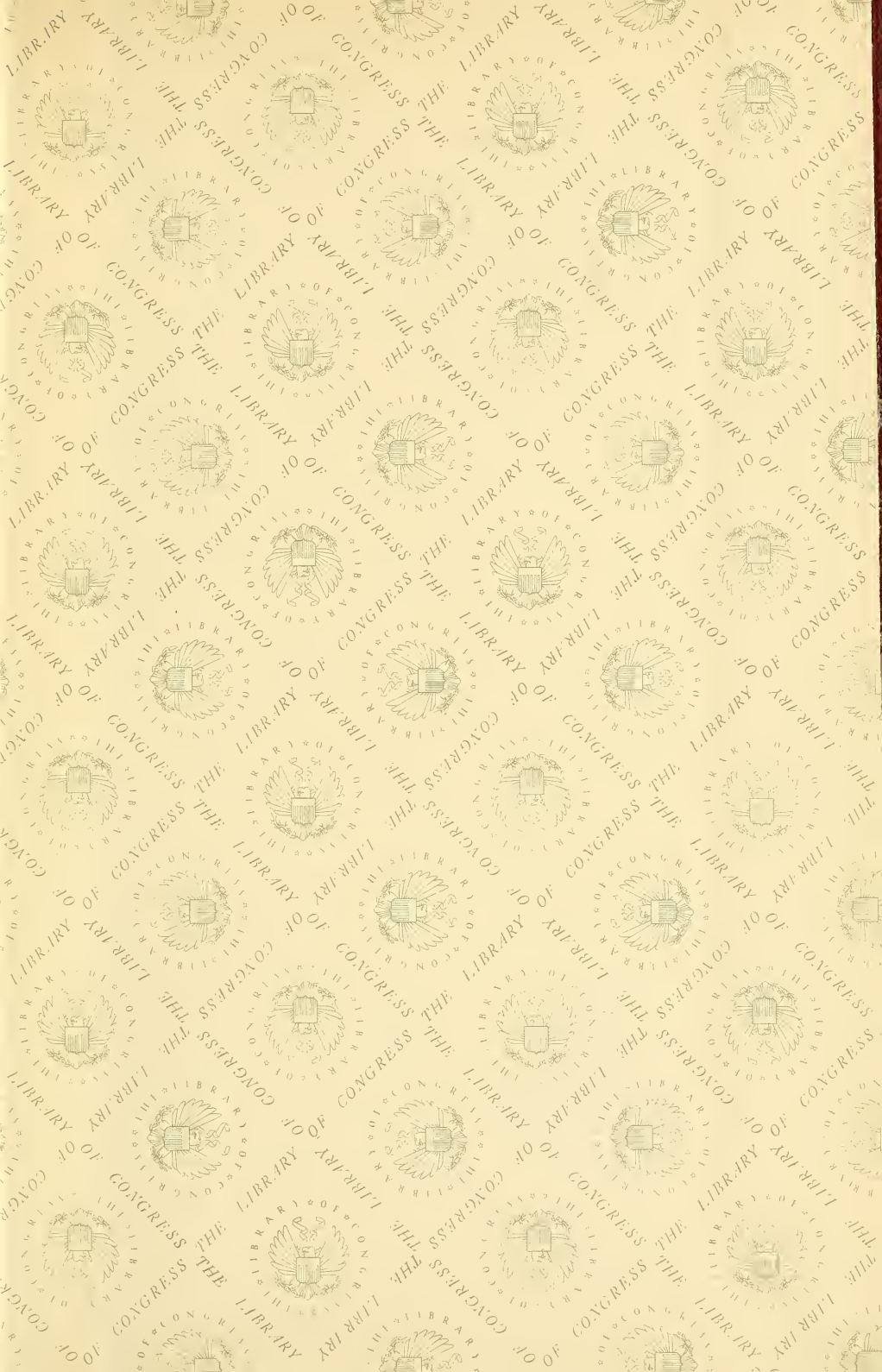




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